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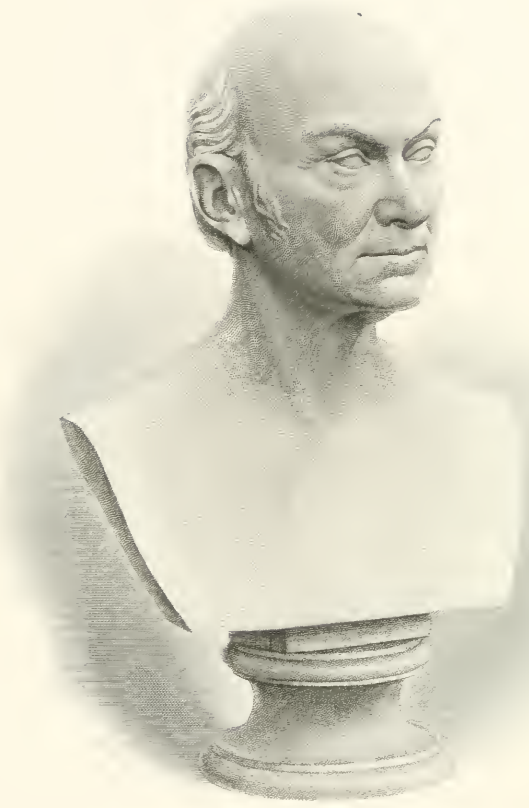

MEMOIRS

OF

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,

COMPRISING PORTIONS OF

HIS DIARY FROM 1795 TO 1848.

EDITED BY

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

VOL. VIII.

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CHAPTER XIV. (*Continued.*)

THE PRESIDENCY.

May 20th, 1828.—Mr. Derrick, from the Department of State, brought me a letter from N. Williams, the District Attorney at Baltimore, mentioning the seizure of a Buenos Ayrean privateer called the Tuncal, at that place, and asking for instructions, with Mr. Clay's answer—which I approved. This case is connected with that of the Bolivar, at New York. Mr. Brent brought me three copies of the proclamation of the treaty with the Eel River or Thornton party of Miami Indians.

Mr. Dorsey, member of the House of Representatives from Maryland, introduced a Mr. Scott of that State. Mr. Breese, the District Attorney of Illinois, was here. He made me a present of a petrified pear, found in Monroe County, in the State of Illinois, in 1826. It has the shape and size of a St. Michael's pear, and became petrified apparently as it fell from the tree, without decaying. It is split in two, and the core is of a separate and different induration from that of the pulp. It is flattened on the side upon which it lay on the ground, and bears a faint impression of a leaf, upon which it must have lain. I asked him if other petrifactions were common at or near the place where this was found; but he did not know.

General Metcalf, member of the House from Kentucky, and Mr. Merwin, from Connecticut, were here. Metcalf to take leave—he goes for home to-morrow. He is the Administration

candidate for Governor of the State, and, according to the usage of that part of the country, must before the election travel round the State and offer himself to the people and solicit their votes. The election is to be held next August, and his competitor has already made his canvassing tour. Metcalf is, nevertheless, sanguine in his expectation of success.

The adjourned Cabinet meeting was held from two to four o'clock. Present, the Secretaries of State, Treasury, War, and the Navy. The questions concerning the appointments of a Secretary of War and a Minister to the republic of Colombia were again considered. That of the appointment of a Minister to Great Britain was assumed as decided, and therefore not discussed. Governor Barbour concurred in the opinions of the other members of the Administration, which were still as they had been given yesterday. He thought that General Peter B. Porter should be nominated as Secretary of War in preference to Ambrose Spencer, Mr. Gaston, or John Williams, of Tennessee, and that General Harrison should be nominated for the mission to Colombia in preference to George Robertson.

I re-stated my objections to the appointment of any Minister to Colombia, and the grounds of my preference of John Williams as Secretary of War, and strongly marked my doubts whether the appointment of General Porter would have a favorable effect, even in New York; but, standing alone in all these opinions, I finally acquiesced in all the arrangements proposed. In every one of them, to my view, the public interest is made subordinate to individual accommodation. Governor Barbour's situation in the Administration is irksome, because the prejudices of his State are against him; and, as he is a man of fair and honorable mind, I am well pleased to give him the opportunity to withdraw his stake from the issue of the contest. Porter is devoted to Mr. Clay, and has taken the lead in the New York Legislature of the friends of the Administration. But his party in New York is feeble, and a great majority of the people of the State will not approve his appointment. Harrison wants the mission to Colombia much more than it wants him, or than it is wanted by the public

interest. These men will all discharge the duties of their offices faithfully to the best of their ability. Nothing would induce me to compromise on that point; but in all short of that the right must in this, as in numberless other cases, yield to the expedient. The only possibility left me is to terminate the Administration in harmony with itself, and for the sake of that I acquiesce in these measures, against the whole tenor of my judgment.

21st. For the first time, I believe, in more than three years that I have resided in this house, I was confined the whole day to it by unceasing rain. It abridges somewhat the number of my visitors. Mr. Southard was here, and consulted with me upon several subjects relating to the administration of the Navy Department; upon the long-standing claim of Major Anderson, of the Marine Corps, to brevet promotion. The decision has been postponed until this time because there has been a proposal before the Senate almost the whole of this session for abolishing brevet appointments altogether. It is, however, apparent that this measure will not now pass. I concluded, therefore, to send to the Senate the brevet nominations, and sent the message nominating Major Anderson to be a Lieutenant-Colonel by brevet. I sent also a message with nominations of the staff officers of the Marine Corps, and with it the opinion of the Attorney-General, that the law requires the appointment to these staff offices should be made by nomination of the President, with the concurrence of the Senate. It is strange that this should be a question; but it is one of much difficulty. The three offices are now held under appointments by the Commandant of the Corps, who, by virtue of having exercised the power to appoint, claims the right to dismiss, and insists upon displacing Captain Kuhn, the Paymaster, to put Captain Freeman in the place. We have resisted this little impulse of passion, and, from questioning Colonel Henderson's right to remove Kuhn, have come to disbelieve his power lawfully to appoint. I now sent in the nominations to take the sense of the Senate upon them.

Mr. Southard spoke of a sloop of war to be dispatched for the Mediterranean. The Consul at Smyrna, Offley, has sent to

the Department of State a paper in Arabic, purporting to be from the Reis Effendi at Constantinople, declaring the willingness of the Turkish Government to negotiate a treaty of commerce with the United States. I propose to send a joint and several full power to Offley and Captain Crane, now commander of our squadron in the Mediterranean, to negotiate such a treaty. The principal difficulty will be to preserve the secret, and it will be necessary to proceed in the business with great caution. I must also take it almost entirely upon myself; Mr. Clay, by the advice of his physicians, intending to leave the city immediately after the adjournment of Congress, and to relax from attention to public business.

22d. I sent this day message to Congress No. 13, with the proclamation of the treaty with the Eel River or Thornton party of Miami Indians; message to the House of Representatives No. 14, with the correspondence relating to the arrest and imprisonment of John Baker; messages to the Senate No. 37, with nominations for brevet promotions in the army, and No. 38, with nominations to army promotions; and also nominations of James Barbour as Minister to Great Britain, and of William H. Harrison as Minister to the republic of Colombia.

It was perhaps scarcely remarkable that these nominations, together with that of General Peter B. Porter as Secretary of War, were announced not only in the Telegraph of this morning, but in the Baltimore American. If this Government can keep any secrets, it is not of those for which faction and envy are upon the watch. Governor Barbour assured me that he had not divulged any portion of the secret—of which I have no doubt.

The Senate this day passed the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal bill, with two subsidiary bills for giving it effect, to the great joy of the people of the District. A cannonading salute was fired at Georgetown, and another in the city, upon this occasion. The confinement of these two days, with the continual rain of yesterday and this day till noon, affected my health; the distraction of business and of visitors gave me a headache, which disqualified me for writing.

23d. I rose before daylight, and wrote two hours; then rode two hours with John. My pony, dull and vicious, stumbled and threw me from my saddle on his neck, not without some hurt. Before dinner, I visited the nursery, where I now found fifty Spanish cork-oaks up, or appearing at the surface. I discovered also several black walnuts, planted the 22d of March; several almond-trees, the kernels of which were also then planted; ash and ash-leaved maples, planted last November by Mr. Foy. The black walnut, therefore, and the almond, planted in spring, vegetate to the surface in precisely two months.

Immediately after breakfast, Mr. Bateman, of the Senate, brought me from the committee seventeen enrolled bills and one resolution, which I read and signed. Among them was one giving a discretionary power to the President to cause a breakwater at the mouth of the Delaware River to be made, and appropriating two hundred thousand dollars to that purpose. The whole work will probably cost five or six millions. This discretionary power and control over public money singularly contrasts with the report of the Retrenchment Committee, containing near one hundred and fifty pages of invective upon every Department of the Government, except the Post Office, for extravagance and waste of public money.

Major Nourse brought me a record-book from the War Department, containing the opinion of the Attorney-General in the case of Joseph Wheaton, and a copy of another opinion in the case of a Major Anderson, that the President of the United States has no appellate authority over the accounting officers of the Treasury—opinions in which I entirely concur, and in conformity with which I persevere to decline all interference in the settlement of T. L. McKenney's accounts.

Mr. Derrick, from the Department of State, brought me the draft of a report from the Secretary of State on the call of the House for the Brazilian correspondence; which I approved.

Mr. Clay was here, and spoke of the necessity for him to go from here immediately after the close of the session; and he complained that since his return from Philadelphia to his laborious duties he found his health again sinking.

I told him I would take the business of the proposed nego-

tiation with Turkey into my own hands, and should want the aid of a confidential clerk in the Department of State to assist me. He mentioned Fendall and Slade; and I fixed upon Fendall, as he is acquainted with the French language, of which, probably, much use must be made.

I had a long conversation with Mr. Rush upon the affairs of the post-office at Philadelphia, which become more and more complicated and perplexing. There is evidence of frauds committed by the late Postmaster, Bache, and strong suspicions implicating the subalterns now in the office. The position of the present Postmaster is very awkward as relates to the frauds of his predecessor, and he can scarcely be a suitable person strictly to pursue the investigation. I incline to require his removal, and the appointment of another person in his place; and consulted with Mr. Rush concerning it. I have received a letter from the Postmaster-General in answer to my questions, which is far from satisfactory with regard to the facts, and far from removing suspicions. Mr. Rush inclines to the opinion that it would be advisable to put the responsibility of removing T. Sergeant upon the Postmaster-General himself.

Governor Barbour came with information that the Senate had unanimously advised and consented to his appointment as Minister to Great Britain, and manifested an inclination to resign immediately his office of Secretary of War; to which I assented.

Mr. Everett spent here a couple of hours of the evening, and mentioned to me the great result of the Retrenchment Committee's indefatigable investigation and invidious labors — a resolution for a petty reduction of expense in the printing for Congress.

I sent message to the Senate No. 39, with reports of the Secretary of the Treasury and Commissioner of the General Land Office concerning T. A. Smith, Receiver of Public Moneys at Franklin, Missouri; message to the House of Representatives No. 15, with the Brazilian correspondence and the report from the Secretary of State; and I received four resolutions from the Senate: one, advising to the conditional ratification of the Arkansas Cherokee Treaty; and three, con-

firmations of nominations, one of which was that of James Barbour as Minister to Great Britain.

24th. Governor Barbour came, and delivered to me his letter of resignation, and with it a letter of kind and friendly feeling upon this new appointment. He mentioned something of the business which he leaves in the Department of War, and something of the instructions that he is to receive upon his mission; said he had private concerns to arrange which would occupy some weeks, and that he would be ready to embark by the 1st of August, perhaps in July.

Mr. Rush was here, and I had again a long conversation with him upon the state of the post-office at Philadelphia. He had sent me a fresh letter from C. J. Ingersoll, showing new evidence of frauds on the part of the late Postmaster, Bache. A thorough scrutiny into the management of the office for the last three years appears to me to be necessary, and T. Sergeant, the brother-in-law of Bache, ought not to be there while the examination is carried on. But T. Sergeant is a man of respectable character, which would be hurt by the removal of him from office under these circumstances. He is brother to John Sergeant, one of the ablest, purest, fairest men in Congress, a warm and most efficient friend of the Administration. Mr. Rush still thinks it most advisable to make the Postmaster-General sensible that *his* duty imposes upon him the obligation of suggesting to T. Sergeant the awkwardness and delicacy of his situation, and the propriety of his retiring from it. I must reflect upon the subject further.

Mr. Rush, Mr. Southard, and Mr. Everett dined with us, and went with me at seven in the evening to the Capitol. My son John followed, and Mr. Clay joined us at the Capitol. I remained there till midnight, reading and signing bills brought me successively by the Senators Ellis and Bateman, and the members of the House of Representatives Forward and Maxwell, the joint Committee of Enrolled Bills. Among them was the bill authorizing a treaty to be held with the Winnebago and other Indians; immediately after signing which I sent in to the Senate message No. 41, nominating Lewis Cass and Pierre Menard as the Commissioners. They were immediately con-

firmed. W. Lowrie, Secretary of the Senate, brought me resolutions of that body confirming the nominations of General Macomb as Major-General, of General Harrison as Minister to Colombia, of the Marine Corps staff, and some others. I had sent this morning message to the Senate No. 40, nominating Peter B. Porter, of New York, as Secretary of War, and some others. A motion was made to act upon them immediately; but the rules of the Senate requiring an interval of one day could be dispensed with only by unanimous consent, and an objection was made.

The Count de Menou also came in, and expressed his gratification at the passage of the bill reducing the duty upon wines. About midnight I left the hall, after requesting Mr. Bateman, of the Committee of Enrolled Bills, to send me to-morrow morning all the bills not presented to me this evening. The two Houses shortly afterwards adjourned, to meet again at six o'clock Monday morning. I took Mr. Southard and Mr. Rush home, and got home myself a little before one in the morning.

25th. A visit from Mr. Thomas, the Senator from Illinois, detained me from the morning service at church. Thomas came to take leave, and spoke to me again with much solicitude respecting the Postmaster-General, whose removal he very earnestly deprecated. He also told me that he had estranged himself entirely from his colleague, Kane, who, he said, had acted with great duplicity, and whose conduct, he thought, was influenced by the failure of the project to obtain the office of Postmaster at New York for his father. General S. Smith, Senator from Maryland, followed. This gentleman's political course is by a winding-stair, and during the session of Congress now expiring has been less hostile than that of many others—less even than his own at other times. He spoke of the appointment of General Macomb as Major-General, and of General Scott's threat of disobedience; approving the former, and indignant at what he termed the folly of Scott.

26th. The two Houses had adjourned to meet at six this morning. I rode up to the Capitol with my son John, and found Mr. Southard there. Thirteen enrolled bills had been sent to me yesterday, which I had signed. The Senate this

morning confirmed the nomination of Peter B. Porter as Secretary of War, and all the other nominations that I had sent, excepting the army brevet promotions, which were laid upon the table. There is a growing opinion that all brevetting in time of peace ought to be abolished, and a proposition to that effect has been before the Senate great part of the session, but not definitively discussed. I immediately wrote to General Porter tendering to him the commission of Secretary of War. About half-past seven o'clock a joint committee, Mr. Macon and Mr. Woodbury, of the Senate, and Mr. Dickinson and John C. Wright, of the House of Representatives, came and informed me that the two Houses, unless I had any further communication to make to them, were ready to adjourn. I requested them to present my respects to the Houses and inform them that I had no further communication to make. They immediately afterwards adjourned, and I rode round by the navy-yard home.

Several of the members of both Houses came and took leave of me at the Capitol, and in the course of the day the Senators King, McKinley, and Chambers, and the members of the House of Representatives Vance, Garnsey, Turner, John C. Wright, Sloane, James Clark, Buckner, Strong, and Mercer, called and took leave at my house. The day was otherwise one of crowded and multifarious business. Major Nourse, the Chief Clerk of the War Department, came for directions concerning it. A letter of appointment as Acting Secretary of War was made out for Mr. Southard, and signed. Colonel Jones, the Adjutant-General, brought me the draft of a general order announcing the appointment of General Macomb as Major-General of the army, and requiring all officers and soldiers of the army to obey and respect him as such. He said that as General Scott had intimated some intention of actual disobedience in the event of General Macomb's appointment, this order would mark it more strongly. He showed me the sixty-first and second Articles of War, upon which Scott's pretensions to command are founded, but which appear to me to be decisive against them. I thought it, however, proper that the order should issue, and took the draft for consideration. I told Colonel Jones that General Macomb should resign his office of Chief

Engineer and accept in writing that of Major-General. The Colonel also brought me a list of promotions consequent upon General Macomb's removal from the Engineer Department, which I took for consideration. I signed and gave to Mr. Southard his letter of appointment as Acting Secretary of War, and gave him the Adjutant-General's draft of an order to the army and list of promotions for consideration. I also observed that I proposed to send him a letter directing the issuing of the general order, to be placed on the records of the War Department; and in the evening I accordingly wrote such a letter.

Governor Barbour called, and spoke of his arrangements for his departure upon his mission. He asked me to accept his saddle-horse, for which he expects to have no further use, and sent him this evening to my stable. I sent for Mr. McLean, the Postmaster-General, who came, and I had a long conversation with him respecting the post-office at Philadelphia. I told him that the attempt of Bache to draw the funds of the public from the bank after he had been removed was essentially a fraud; that I must confidentially say to him that the conduct of his agent, Simpson, and of Newman, the Chief Clerk of the post-office, had been very exceptionable on that occasion, and that of Mr. T. Sergeant, the new Postmaster, at least very inefficient. I told him that Mr. Sergeant's position was a very awkward one, in the conflict between his public duties and his private sympathies, and that I thought he ought voluntarily to withdraw himself from it. Mr. McLean said he wished to God he had never been appointed, but added that Simpson was a man of most excellent character, in whom he had unbounded confidence; he was perfectly sure there could have been no remissness in him.

I told him of the repugnance of Newman to making the affidavit which was necessary to obtain the injunction to the bank, which arrested the payment of Bache's checks, and that Newman had said Simpson knew of the sum deposited in Bache's private account in the bank, and did not wish it to be meddled with.

Mr. McLean said it was impossible. If Newman had said so, he must have misrepresented Simpson's conduct; and he

repeated his declarations of entire confidence in Simpson as an honest and religious man.

I advised him to enquire into the facts, and to have both Simpson and Newman examined upon oath concerning them; which he promised to do. Mr. McLean was still extremely anxious to justify the Department from any laches in this affair, and somewhat disposed to cast upon Bradley, the Assistant Postmaster-General, the extraordinary indulgences which have been allowed to Bache. As yet this affair thickens as it proceeds.

Mr. Mercer, the member of the House from Virginia, called on me a second time this evening, to speak upon the subject of General Scott and General Macomb. Mercer is a Virginian, and a friend of Scott's. He is also very unfriendly to Macomb, of whose character he spoke in very disparaging terms; said that his courage was very doubtful; that Colonel Snelling averred that his conduct at Plattsburg had been contemptible; that his pretence of being a citizen of New York was false, because he was born in the Territory of Michigan; that as Chief Engineer his conduct had occasioned all the difficulties in the surveys for internal improvements; that he had degraded himself by accepting the office of Chief Engineer with the rank of colonel; and that the nomination of him had turned twenty-five votes in the House of Representatives in favor of abolishing the office. He proposed, therefore, that, at the demand of General Scott, a Court-martial should be assembled, and that General Macomb and General Scott should engage to abide by their decision.

I heard him entirely through, and then observed that I had been compelled to examine the question of rank between Generals Gaines and Scott, and had seriously perused all that they had written on the subject of their controversy; that I had come to the conclusion that the conclusive argument was on the side of General Gaines, but I had as long as possible avoided deciding the question. It was, however, decided by the appointment of Macomb; for the same principle invoked by Gaines against Scott was good for Macomb against Gaines. and of this he was so sensible that he had cheerfully acquiesced

in the appointment of Macomb. I took the senior officer in the line of the army. I considered the brevet as a privilege of distinction, honorable to him who obtained it by gallant achievement, but invidious in its effect to set aside the seniority of others. This invidious portion of its operation ought, in justice, to be limited to the letter of the law, and not extended by construction. The law specifies when brevet rank shall give command over an officer senior by commission; it excludes from such command whenever it is not expressly given. It is given only to regimental officers; it is silent with regard to general officers, and silence withholds command. I shall not, therefore, submit this question to a Court-martial. I had decided it myself, and would disapprove the proceedings of any Court-martial which should so decide. General Scott must take his own course, and I shall take mine, as my duty may require. The question cannot be decided by a Court-martial, for every officer upon it would be interested in the issue on one side or the other. The Board of Officers convened by Mr. Monroe at the close of his Administration had declined answering it on that account. As to Macomb's character, I had never known anything against him, and I viewed in a different light his descending to take the character of commander of the engineers—as an honorable submission to the laws of the land. That if Macomb was born in Michigan, he was a citizen of the State of New York, and by that name had been first nominated to the Senate for the army.

Mercer replied that the case was more difficult than he had imagined; that his object had been, if possible, to pacify and conciliate the parties, and that Scott's alternative would be to resign his commission.

This has been a harassing day; but I perceived a tamarind heaving up the earth in the centre of tumbler No. 2; and I planted in tumbler No. 1 three whole Hautboy strawberries.

27th. I rode the Governor's horse the long or twelve-mile tour. He is very spirited, but easily managed; paces, trots, canters, and never needs whip or spur. But he trips in pacing, and has a weakness in the left hind ankle, which is dangerous. I despair of procuring a safe horse, and must make my option

between renouncing this mode of exercise and taking its chances.

Mr. Rush brought me the Act for the benefit of the surviving officers of the Revolutionary War, passed at the recent session of Congress, the execution of which is devolved, much to his annoyance, upon him instead of the Secretary of War, to whose Department it more properly belongs. He had now two questions upon the construction of the Act, concerning which he consulted me. The Act provides for officers to whom half-pay for life was promised by resolution of Congress of 21st October, 1780, which extended to officers who should continue in service to the end of the war. One question was, whether it would apply to officers who entered the service after the passage of the resolution. The other question was, whether the Act included the officers in the Medical Department who were not named in the resolution of 21st October, 1780, but for whom a similar provision was made by a resolution of 17th January, 1781.

I told Mr. Rush that if it was a penal statute I should not consider it as embracing either of these descriptions of officers, but, as it was beneficent and remedial, I thought it should be construed to include them both. He was of the same opinion. Of the medical officers there are very few surviving; but one of them is J. B. Cutting, now a clerk in the War Department.

Mr. Clay was here at the same time with Mr. Rush, but, finding me engaged with him, postponed the subjects upon which he had proposed to consult with me.

General Macomb came, and made his acknowledgments to me for the appointment of Major-General, and said he had sent in his resignation to the War Department as Chief Engineer, and had received his new commission. He said he had twice met accidentally General Scott, who had omitted to return the usual salutations of civility.

I desired General Macomb to furnish me with a list of all the surveys now making, and of the engineers employed upon them, and I gave him the applications of sundry members of Congress for two new surveys, requesting him to designate engineers to enter upon them.

Edward T. Tayloe came, and thanked me for his appointment as Secretary of Legation to the republic of Colombia. Colonel Jones, the Adjutant-General, came for final directions respecting the promotions in the Engineer Corps, which I approved and gave to Mr. Southard to be carried into execution.

I had intended yesterday to plant the Spanish cork-acorns, but was prevented by a heavy thunder-shower followed by copious rain, which continued the whole evening. I visited the garden and nursery this day. Noticed in the nursery the first appearance of the shellbark hickories, planted last autumn. They come exactly one month later than the oaks and black walnuts and chestnuts, and two months later than the apples, peaches, plums, and apricots. In the garden the black walnuts are still coming up, and in the eastern seedling-bed there is one shellbark of last year's plantation now first appearing.

28th. I took this morning a ride of about fourteen miles, but found my horse so often tripping as to give me a significant warning of the probable consequences of indulging myself in this exercise, which, however, is otherwise precisely that which I need. Its effect is to fatigue me, so that for an hour or two from about noon, and again about as long in the evening, I am overpowered with lassitude, but the remainder of the day am fresh and vigorous.

Mr. Southard called upon me after breakfast, upon business both of the War and Navy Departments. The first object requiring attention is the instructions to Governor Cass and Pierre Menard, the Commissioners for treating with the Winnebago and other tribes of Indians; upon the purport of which we agreed. I enquired when the sloop of war bound to the Mediterranean would be ready to sail; and he said in not less than a month.

Mr. Williams, Senator from Mississippi, and Mr. McKee, member of the House of Representatives from Alabama, called to take leave, and to urge the appointment of engineers for a survey in which their States have a special interest; also for the appointment of a person whom they recommended as an Agent to accompany the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians intending to remove west of the Mississippi. I desired them

to see Mr. Southard on the subject, assuring them that their wishes should be attended to.

Mr. Brent was here, and I requested him to send me the papers relating to Commodore Rodgers's negotiation with the Capitan Pacha; also forms of commissions for treating with Oriental powers, and copies, printed or manuscript, of any treaties between European powers and the Ottoman Porte. And I requested him to call here to-morrow morning with George Watkins, whom I propose to employ as the confidential clerk to assist me in the transaction of this business.

General Harrison called to express his satisfaction at receiving the appointment of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the republic of Colombia, and to take leave, being on the point of departure for Cincinnati. He proposes to embark for his destination in the autumn, when the unhealthy season of that region will be over.

29th. I rode this morning about fourteen miles, and was two hours and a half out. The horse was somewhat lame, and tripped often and dangerously.

Governor Barbour was here. I had written to him that I must pay him for the horse—to which he consented. He spoke of the preparations for his departure, and made some enquiries as to his course of proceeding on his arrival in England; upon which I gave him such information as was in my power. He spoke of numerous persons who had applied to go with him as domestics and secretaries. He asked a furlough for Lieutenant Vinton, late Aide-de-Camp to General Brown, that he might accompany him. He also said that Commodore Rodgers had manifested a wish to go with him in a public vessel, and to proceed, after landing him, to the Mediterranean, to resume his negotiation with the Sublime Porte.

Mr. Clay mentioned the receipt of dispatches from Mr. Lawrence, at London, and some others, particularly one from Mr. Poinsett, announcing the death of Mr. James Cooley, our Chargé d'Affaires at Lima, in Peru. He died on the 24th of February; and it is remarkable that this is the third of our diplomatic representatives in South America that have died in the space of five years since our political intercourse com-

menced; besides John Graham, about two years earlier, in Brazil, and John B. Prevost, the informal predecessor of Mr. Cooley, at Lima. Mr. Clay proposed to me to offer the appointment of Chargé d'Affaires in Peru to George Robertson, of Kentucky—to which I assented. Mr. Clay likewise proposed to report to me for publication a statement of facts relating to the employment of D. P. Cook, last year, upon a secret agency to the island of Cuba—of which a very disingenuous use has been made in the report of the Retrenchment Committee of the House of Representatives.

30th. Captain Beard was an officer in the late war, and came as an invalid to apply for an appointment, with several strong recommendations. He first mentioned the superintendency of the penitentiary; but that office has not yet been created. He next spoke of an Indian agency. I knew of none vacant, and observed to him that I believed the discharge of the duties of those offices required persons of sound health and vigorous constitutions.

Mr. White, the delegate from Florida, came and took leave; expressing himself gratified with the recent appointments in the Territory.

General Macomb brought me, as I had requested, lists—1, of examinations and surveys now under operation, under the direction of the Engineer Department; 2, of those examinations and surveys which have been applied for but not yet decided on; and, 3, of topographical engineers, civil engineers, and others engaged on the surveys. I requested him to furnish me also a list of all the surveys which have been completed and reported to Congress under the Act of April, 1824.

Governor Barbour came and took leave, intending to go to-morrow for Virginia.

Mr. Brent brought me the first volume of the Codex Juris Gentium of Wenckius, containing several treaties of European powers with the Ottoman Porte, and also a printed confidential document of the Senate.

Mr. Southard brought a memorial signed by the presidents of seventeen insurance companies and offices in Boston, re-

questing that a public armed vessel may be sent for the protection of our commerce in the East Indian seas. He said it could only be done by withdrawing a vessel from the force employed upon some other station; which I advised him to do. The memorial complains of piratical depredations recently committed in those seas. Mr. Southard read me also two letters—one from a son of Colonel Snelling, and the other from C. F. Mercer, the member of Congress from Virginia—relating to the proposed negotiation of a treaty with the Chippewas, Winnebagoes, and other tribes of Northwestern Indians. Snelling's letter gives interesting information respecting the dispositions of those tribes. Mercer's affirms that there are now six thousand white people, miners, intrusively settled upon those lands, upon the Indian Territory, and urges the necessity of removing them by military force. He mentions also various circumstances relating to the state of the United States troops on those frontiers, which call for animadversion and reform. Mr. Southard had also a letter from Mr. Hendricks, a Senator from Indiana, requesting that in this negotiation the Indian title to certain lands within that State might be treated for. The Act provides only for the extinction of Indian titles to lands in Michigan and Illinois, and gives a discretionary power to the President to apply part of the appropriation to treat with the Choctaws. Mr. Southard doubted whether it would admit of treating for lands in Indiana; but Mr. Hendricks's letter supposes it may be done without additional expense.

I said the Commissioners might be instructed to include it in their negotiation if it could be effected without, or at moderate, expense.

Mr. Southard read me also a letter from General Scott, addressed through him to me as Commander-in-Chief of the army, demanding the arrest and trial of General Macomb for having assumed command over him, his superior officer; and if that should be refused, he demands a trial by Court-martial himself, for his refusal to obey the orders of General Macomb; and advises how the Court-martial should be composed.

We conversed upon the manner in which this letter should

be answered, and concluded that Mr. Southard should make a draft refusing the arrest of General Macomb, and also declining to try General Scott himself by Court-martial. I desired also that the letter should order General Scott to repair to his post at the expiration of his furlough.

31st. My horse was not quite so lame this morning as the preceding days. We went round by the race-ground and Capitol, riding at the rate of about six miles an hour. The day was again very cool.

Mr. Clay and Mr. Southard were here together, and we conversed upon the answer to be given to General Scott, the draft of which Mr. Southard had not yet prepared. Mr. Southard took the papers which he had left with me relating to the purchase of a private claim to land on the island of Santa Rosa, near Pensacola, upon which it is proposed to erect a fortification. The question is, whether a part of the appropriation for the fortification may be applied to the purchase of the claim. I thought it might. Mr. Clay read the draft of a report to me on the payment of fifteen hundred dollars last year for a confidential mission to the island of Cuba. The report of the Retrenchment Committee contains on this subject insidious and scandalous misrepresentations. In 1827, after Mr. Cook had ceased to be a member of Congress, and intending to go to the Havanna, as a last resource for the restoration of his health, he was employed on a secret agency for confidential communication with General Vivés, the Governor of that island. It was then menaced with invasion by the forces of Mexico and Colombia, and, as we had been informed, by a secret project of G. Canning, then the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs. T. Randall had been employed on a similar agency during the Administration of Mr. Monroe; the same had been offered by my direction, in 1826, to Bolling Robertson, by whom it was declined. There was a peculiar convenience in employing Mr. Cook, because, his intention to go to the Havanna being known, his departure would excite no public curiosity to betray the secrecy of the mission. He went accordingly, upon the same compensation which had been allowed to Captain Randall and to other informal agents to South America. He

took a confidential letter from Mr. Clay to Governor Vivés, had several personal interviews with him, and, on the approach of summer, returned to this country with a confidential answer from Governor Vivés to Mr. Clay's letter, which the Governor requested he would deliver with his own hands. Mr. Cook was on his way to this city for that purpose, when he was taken ill with a new disorder, of which he died. He had received one thousand dollars advance on his departure, and had drawn a bill for five hundred dollars before his death, which was paid. In the Retrenchment Committee, the Chairman, Hamilton, with an air of mystery, announced that a citizen who did not wish his name to be known had informed him that five thousand dollars of secret-service money had been paid to Daniel Pope Cook. The majority of the committee thereupon went into an investigation of the whole transaction, and examined witnesses, and demanded information of the Registrar of the Treasury concerning the payment, and of the Secretary of State of its object; but when offered a confidential communication of it, declined receiving it. Mr. Clay's report contains a statement of facts relating to the expenditures on secret service, the tendency of which is to rectify the false exhibit of them made by the majority of the committee. He left it with me for consideration.

Captain Barnum came to complain of some transaction of the Postmaster-General with him; upon which I requested him to make a written statement. He is the inventor of an ingenious instrument for surveying lands, which he some time since exhibited to me.

Day. I rise generally before five—frequently before four. Write from one to two hours in this diary. Ride about twelve miles in two hours, on horseback, with my son John. Return home about nine; breakfast; and from that time till dinner, between five and six, afternoon, am occupied incessantly with visitors, business, and reading letters, dispatches, and newspapers. I spend an hour, sometimes before and sometimes after dinner, in the garden and nursery; an hour of drowsiness on a sofa, and two hours of writing, in the evening. Retire usually between eleven and midnight. My riding on horseback

is a dangerous and desperate resort for the recovery of my health.

June 1st. After the morning service, Mr. Ringgold, the Marshal, called upon me, and mentioned that he had received a note from Mr. Monroe, to say that he and Mrs. Monroe, with their granddaughter, Hortensia Hay, would be here to-morrow, to dine and pass the night at his house, being on their way to New York. I afterwards wrote a note to Mr. Ringgold enclosing one to Mr. Monroe, inviting him and his family to dine and pass the night here. Mr. Ringgold's answer leads me to expect that this invitation will be declined, Mrs. Monroe's health being infirm.

2d. Mr. Southard and Mr. Clay were here together. Mr. Southard brought, and left with me, the draft of his answer to the letter of General Scott, declining to arrest and bring to trial by Court-martial General Macomb, or General Scott himself, and directing him at the expiration of his furlough to repair to his post. Mr. Clay spoke of the report upon the expenditures of secret-service money, which he had left with me, and which he wishes to have published in the newspapers. I had some doubts of the expediency of that measure, as being altogether unusual and novel, and as likely to attract public notice to that part of the report of the Retrenchment Committee, giving it an importance which it would not otherwise possess. Mr. Clay and Mr. Southard thought it was an exposition necessary to counteract the use which would be made of the misrepresentations in the report at the Western popular elections. I kept the paper for further consideration.

Mr. Clay mentioned the wish of Mr. Rumpff, the Minister from the Hanseatic cities, to add an article to the Convention the ratifications of which were to be this day exchanged; to which I agreed; and I fixed Wednesday next at one o'clock to receive Mr. Rumpff in audience to take leave.

Eleazer Williams, the half-breed Seneca Indian preacher, came, and was in great concern to find that the Senate had not finally acted upon the treaty under which those in New York were to remove to Michigan. He said the greater part of them were now disposed to go, and he did not know when the

opportunity would again occur. He was in great perplexity, and asked my advice what should be done. I said that with regard to the treaty, nothing could be done but to wait till the next session of Congress, and the Senate would probably then decide upon it; and with regard to the exchange of the Indian Agents at Green Bay and Michillimackinac, which he again earnestly urged, I told him I must consult with the new Secretary of War, General Porter, when he should arrive.

Mr. Monroe called here, about one o'clock, with Mr. Southard, and about an hour afterwards I went with Mrs. Adams and visited him and Mrs. Monroe at Marshal Ringgold's. We found there Mr. McLean, the Postmaster-General, and Mr. G. Graham, the Commissioner of the Land Office, who had been out with the Marshal to meet Mr. Monroe, but missed him. Colonel Roberdeau was also there. Mr. Monroe declined the invitation to dine and lodge with us. He looks very little altered since I last saw him in August, 1825. Mrs. Monroe is much out of health and reduced.

3d. The loss of the morning ride, even for a day, impairs its efficacy for the restoration of my health, and the heavy thundergust of the night was followed by a day so sultry that my excursion from the house was confined to an after-dinner visit to the nursery. I there counted ninety-seven Spanish cork-oaks, but found nothing further. I observe only that a few of every kind of tree that had come up are perishing, the causes of which are various: the heat of the sun withers some, others suffer prostration from rain; insects, above ground, devour the leaves, vermin, beneath, nip the stalks. The infancy of plants seems to be as delicate as that of animals. I have, however, now so many varieties, and so many of each kind, that I can bear the loss of a portion of them, and have now little more to expect for the remainder of the season. I make two remarks: one, that the self-planted seeds thrive the most vigorously; the other, that the plants which I most cherish are the most apt to disappoint me and die.

Mr. Rush came to speak of putting into operation the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. He subscribed last week for a million of dollars of the stock for the United States, and has been

urging the Mayors of Washington and Georgetown to make preparations immediately for commencing the work. We had much conversation with regard to the choice of the President and Directors, and agreed that the most suitable person to be President would be C. F. Mercer, by whose persevering exertions the undertaking has been so far accomplished. There are to be six directors, one of whom it was thought advisable to take from each of the District cities, Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria, one from Maryland, one from Virginia, and one on the line of the canal. Many names were mentioned, but nothing definitive in that respect was settled.

Mr. Southard was twice here—first, upon the instructions to be given to Governor Cass and P. Menard for negotiating with the Winnebago and other Indians; and the second time, with a letter from J. H. Eaton and G. W. Owens concerning a purchase of lands from the Cherokee Indians, ineffectually attempted last year, and the proposal for which they wish to have renewed.

Major Hamilton called again for his papers, but they had not been found; and I told him I would have them looked up by to-morrow.

Mr. Tyler came soon after, and advised me not to admit Hamilton into my chamber when I was alone; said that he was a desperate man, and had used to him threatening language against me and Mr. Rush; had also threatened to kill himself; and Tyler said that a brother of Hamilton's had killed a man in the street at New York and then killed himself.

I told Tyler that I paid no regard to such threats; and it was my belief that Hamilton had used them for the purpose of having them reported to me.

Mr. Bradley, the Assistant Postmaster-General, was here, and gave me further information respecting the delinquency of the late Postmaster at Philadelphia. He thinks the defalcation will be of more than twenty-five thousand dollars. He also says that he believes that S. D. Ingham has a deed of defeasance releasing him from responsibility upon his bond as surety to Bache. The mass of evidence shows extraordinary indulgence

to Bache; a high probability that it will result in a heavy loss of money to the public, and the cause of which is clearly traceable to Mr. McLean's political connections with Ingham, and with Vice-President Calhoun, of whom Ingham is the servile tool. The conduct of Mr. McLean has been that of deep and treacherous duplicity. With solemn protestations of personal friendship for me, and of devotion to the cause of the Administration, he has been three years using the extensive patronage of his office in undermining it among the people. With the names of Harry Lee, of Charles K. Gardner, of Mower, of Magee, of Reesides, and others, Mr. Bradley related to me transactions which can leave no doubt upon my mind. McLean is a double-dealer. "His words are smoother than butter, but war is in his heart."

Mr. Clay was here, and informed me of the death of Daniel Sheldon, the Secretary to the Legation in France. I proposed to transfer J. A. Smith to that mission, and to appoint a new Secretary to the mission to Spain. I requested Mr. Clay to have a commission as Treasurer of the United States sent to William Clark, of Pennsylvania, having received this morning a letter from Chief-Justice Savage declining the appointment, because it would require continual residence at the seat of government.

4th. We rode round by the navy-yard, and returned by a way leading to the turnpike gate and the Capitol. Mr. Graham, the Commissioner of the General Land Office, came, and spoke of an application from Mr. Owens, of Alabama, that the Government would purchase certain reservations of lands of Creek Indians in that State, to which Mr. Graham thought there might be some objection, from the opinion that the lands are worth more than the minimum price of those sold by the United States, and yet that they ought not to give more for them.

I agreed that the purchase should be made, on condition that the minimum price should not be exceeded, and that no advantage should be taken of the Indians in the transaction.

Mr. Southard mentioned the offer of Mr. Owens, of Alabama, to treat with the Cherokees for a purchase of lands, which I

had declined on account of his being a member of Congress, and proposed that F. W. Armstrong, the Marshal of both districts in Alabama, who is now here, should be charged with this business; to which I assented. Mr. Southard stated that about half the appropriation made at the session of Congress before the last had been expended in the abortive attempt of the last summer.

At one o'clock Mr. Clay came, and introduced Mr. Rumpff, the Minister Plenipotentiary from the Hanseatic cities, to an audience for taking leave. He addressed me in a short speech, as usual upon such occasions, expressive of the friendship and good will of the Governments of the three cities of Lubeck, Bremen, and Hamburg towards the United States, and of his own grateful sense of the kind reception and friendly treatment that he had experienced in this country. He spoke in French, and I answered him in the same language. I desired him, upon his return to his constituents, to assure them of the friendly feelings of the Government of the United States towards them, and of the great satisfaction with which we had concluded the treaty of amity and commerce which it had been the object of his mission to negotiate. It had been the more gratifying to me as I had from a period of very early youth been personally acquainted with two of the three confederated cities, and recollected with warm gratitude the kind and hospitable treatment I had received in them, and its repetition more than once afterwards at Hamburg. As to himself, I was happy to learn that he had been pleased with his reception here, and could express no other sentiment than that of regret at his departure, with cordial good wishes that his voyage might be favorable and his future life prosperous and happy. After this interchange of official compliments, I invited him to be seated; we conversed a few minutes upon indifferent topics, and he withdrew.

Mr. Rush was here, and spoke again of the appointment of President and Directors of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. The name of Mr. Gallatin for President had been mentioned to him since yesterday, with the use of some influence upon his mind against the choice of C. F. Mercer; but I told him, con-

sidering what Mercer had done for the canal, I could not listen to the mention of any other name for that office. It was due to him, and could not without gross injustice be diverted from him.

Mr. Elgar, the Commissioner of the Public Buildings, brought me a letter to him from Colonel Trumbull. A resolution of the House of Representatives directed Elgar to take measures under the direction of Trumbull for preserving the paintings in the rotunda from dampness, and to make him a reasonable compensation therefor. Elgar sent him a copy of the resolution; and his letter was to ask an explanation of its meaning—whether he was to devise the measures or merely to superintend the execution of them, and what was understood by a reasonable compensation. I told Elgar I thought the resolution intended that Trumbull should indicate the measures for the preservation of the pictures; but what it meant by reasonable compensation I could not determine.

5th. Mr. Southard and General Macomb were here together, for a consultation respecting the execution of two Acts of Congress, both of 23d May, 1828: one, to authorize the improving of certain harbors, the building of piers, and for other purposes; the other, making an appropriation for the erection of a breakwater near the mouth of Delaware Bay—both making very heavy expenditures of public money, and committing the execution of both the Acts, without restriction or qualification, to the President of the United States. General Macomb read from the National Journal of this morning both the Acts. He had a list of all the engineers in the service of the United States, of the surveys upon which the greater part of them are now engaged, and of those upon which the rest of them should be immediately employed, according to their relative urgency. General Macomb marked the particular surveys to be forthwith commenced, and the names of the engineers to be assigned to each of them, and he recommended that some of the young officers recently withdrawn from the engineer service and stationed at the Artillery School of Practice at Fortress Monroe, Old Point Comfort, should be again called upon for engineer duty.

I definitively fixed upon Commodore Rodgers, General Bernard, and Mr. Strickland as Commissioners to fix upon the place and the plan for a breakwater—deeming more than three Commissioners unnecessary, and perhaps hazardous of collisions of opinion.

6th. Colonel Jones, the Adjutant-General, brought me a general order from the War Department, declaring the cases in which brevet rank will not be conferred upon allegation of ten years' faithful service in one grade. This order was founded upon my decisions immediately before the last brevet nominations to the Senate. It had been drawn up to be signed by Governor Barbour, but was not presented to him till after he had resigned. Colonel Jones brought it, therefore, for my signature or approbation. I asked Colonel Jones if he had a copy of General Jessup's pamphlet upon Brevet Rank, and would lend it to me. Mr. Clay was twice here. First with a draft of his answer to a letter from the Central Administration Committee, in Kentucky, respecting a letter from him to a Mr. Blair of that State, and to testimony of Amos Kendall, given before the Senate of Kentucky, intended to support charges against Mr. Clay of corrupt bargaining with me; and even of his having tempted Kendall himself with a bribe. Mr. Clay declines publishing the letter to Blair, but authorizes the committee to exhibit a copy of it to any person wishing to see it. He sends also three original letters from Kendall to him—one dated in January and one in February, 1825, and one in October, 1826—which will prove Kendall, what he is already well known to be, a liar. Kendall is one of those authors to be let, whose profligacy is the child of his poverty. Mr. Clay's second call was with a dispatch from Count Nesselrode, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Baron Krudener, informing him that the Emperor Nicholas had reviewed the claim for indemnity in the long-standing cases of the Hector and the Commerce, and that by his orders it had been granted, and a settlement effected satisfactory to the agents of Colonel Thorndike and of Mr. Loud. Mr. Clay proposed that some public notice should be taken in the newspapers of this act of justice in the Emperor Nicholas; to which I readily agreed, and

requested him also to give notice of this settlement to Colonel Thorndike and Mr. Loud.

Mr. R. H. Lee called again, and mentioned that he was making progress in his Memoir of the Life of Arthur Lee. I read to him a passage concerning Arthur Lee in the third volume of Hutchinson's History.

7th. Mr. Rush has before him for decision between forty and fifty cases of claims for indemnity by Spanish officers, and inhabitants of Florida, as reported upon by the Judges of the Territory, under the treaty with Spain of February, 1819. The Judges appear determined to admit every claim that is presented. The proceedings are all ex parte; no appearance in behalf of the United States. The claimants present what claim and documents they please, and the Judge allows all, under the reliance that his decision is subject to the revisal of the Secretary of the Treasury. This was a case of a large claim of indemnity for property taken by pirates from the officer on his passage from Florida to the Havanna. I told Mr. Rush that by no rational construction of the treaty could this case be considered as embraced by it, and I thought it should be rejected as inadmissible. This was his own opinion; and he repeated an intimation which he had more than once given before, that an Act of Congress ought to pass limiting the time within which any of these claims should be received.

9th. The morning was cool. I bathed in the river, from the boat, but in fifteen minutes' swimming found myself so much fatigued that I was obliged to return to the boat before reaching the shore. Visited the garden, and afterwards the nursery. In the southern seedling-bed a few black walnuts and shag-barks are still coming up—scarcely enough to replace those that die. In the eastern seedling-bed there has been for weeks no new vegetation, except of weeds and a few straggling self-planted lilacs.

Mr. Derrick, from the Department of State, brought me a draft of a letter from Mr. Clay to Mr. Vaughan, the British Minister, demanding the delivery of possession to the United States of Drummond's Island, conformably to the decision of the Commissioners under the sixth article of the Treaty of

Ghent, and proposing the mutual delivery of all the other islands in possession of one of the parties and adjudged by those Commissioners to the other; which letter I approved.

Mr. Fendall brought and delivered to me from Richard H. Lee several original letters from my father to Arthur Lee, written in 1780 and 1782, and one unsigned, from Arthur Lee to him, written in August, 1788, after my father's return from England, and before he was chosen Vice-President.

Mr. Southard left with me a budget of papers relating to business at the War Department, a letter from T. L. McKenney, and several documents relating to the execution of an Act of Congress to defray the expense of delegations from the Chickasaw and Choctaw and other tribes of Indians in visiting the country west of the Mississippi, but there was no copy of the Act of Congress itself. I had a long conversation with Mr. Southard respecting the forms of accountability of all the several funds appropriated for various objects of internal improvement, and desired him to ascertain and inform me what the practice has been under the Act of 30th April, 1824. Mr. Southard, suffering with a severe headache, was obliged to leave me without coming to a result on this subject.

10th. From breakfast I was called by Judge Thruston, who, in his peculiar way, came to scold because his son had not been appointed a lieutenant in the Marine Corps, and to supplicate some appointment for him to save him from desperation. The Judge met Mr. Southard in the antechamber, and was scarcely civil to him. I have now been so long acquainted with Judge Thruston, and have witnessed so many of his sensitive paroxysms, that they produce little impression upon me. I told the Judge that I could do no more for his son than was compatible with my duties to others, and, if the occasion should occur, I should readily do that. The Judge is partially insane, and knows and avows it, but retains intelligence enough to make his insanity a plea for his title to compassion.

Mr. Southard came to speak concerning the papers that he had left with me yesterday, all of which he now took back. With regard to the appropriation for the expedition of the Chickasaw and Choctaw national delegations to go to see the

country west of the Mississippi, I could not definitively decide upon it, not having at hand the Act of Congress itself. But there were a number of persons earnestly recommended by various members of Congress to be employed to accompany the Indians, and McKenney proposes that a physician should be sent with them—for which I mentioned Dr. Todson. Respecting the deficiency of the survey fund, I agreed that the extra allowance to the engineers should be reduced from one and a half dollars to one dollar per day; that their ordinary pay and rations should be charged not to this fund, as it has been, but to that of the army appropriations, as they should be; and that those of the chiefs of brigades who now have with them four assistants must in future have only two.

Mr. Clay has prepared an instruction to Governor Barbour, to demand certain specified documents relating to the North-eastern Boundary question, conformably to the Convention. They must be demanded within six months from the exchange of the ratifications, that is, before the 29th of September, and a copy of the instruction is to be sent to Mr. Lawrence, to be executed by him in the event of Mr. Barbour's arrival being delayed.

Colonel Jones brought me some papers, upon which, two years since, his claim for double rations was allowed, which he requested me to read, with reference to a difference of opinion between General Macomb and him in regard to his duties—General Macomb thinking that the Adjutant-General has no right to communicate directly with the Secretary of War in any case, but only through the Major-General. I asked him for the order by which the head-quarters of the Major-General were fixed at the seat of government, which he afterwards brought me. It is in the general orders of 17th May, 1821, issued in pursuance of the Act of Congress of 2d March of that year for the reduction of the army.

Mr. Rush brought me three more decisions of Judge Smith, of Florida, upon claims of indemnity for losses sustained by individuals by the operations of General Jackson's army in the invasion of 1818. They are all cases of remotely consequential damages, leaning upon the meagerest and most interested testi-

mony, and the decisions in their favor are so preposterous that I told Mr. Rush I thought they ought not only to be rejected, but marked with some note of censure upon them. Mr. Rush spoke also of this Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Corporation; and to the persons already mentioned as suitable for directors, now added the name of Andrew Stewart, the member of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania; to which I readily assented. There is, it seems, a scramble for the land through which the canal must pass, in which the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company are endeavoring to forestall the canal. Mr. Rush inclined, at the stimulus of the canal interest here, to instruct the U. S. Engineers whom we have assigned to the railroad not to assist in the project of preoccupying the lands; but I thought we could not authoritatively interfere; in which opinion Mr. Southard concurred. Mr. Rush said that the subordinate officers of the Treasury represented that there would be great confusion in the Treasurer's accounts unless the new Treasurer should delay entering upon the duties of his office until the commencement of the quarter—which I supposed might without much difficulty be arranged. I spoke to him also of the necessity of organizing a system of accountability for the internal improvement funds.

12th. Mr. Clay was here, and submitted a letter to W. P. Preble, authorizing the employment of a Mr. Deane as an Assistant Agent upon the Northeastern Boundary arbitration. Mr. Clay expressed some apprehension that Mr. Gallatin would be somewhat intolerant of an associate Agent. He thinks Mr. Gallatin's conduct towards the Administration unfriendly and unfair, and he says Mr. Gallatin's discourse is neither generous nor just. He also repeated severe animadversions upon the Postmaster-General, and says that Judge Brook relates many circumstances showing great abuses in the post-offices, intended to operate against the Administration. He said he had asked Judge Brook to speak to me on the subject. He complained of being again severely unwell, excused himself from dining with us next Saturday, and said he wished to leave the city upon his summer excursion next Wednesday.

Colonel Roberdeau and Mr. William Elliott brought here a

large sun-dial, carved upon a slate, to be fixed horizontally in a purlieu of this house. We determined upon the spot, and, as the slate is to be bedded in a thick plank, I asked Colonel Roberdeau to come at ten to-morrow morning, and sent for Borland, the carpenter, to prepare the plank.

Major Nourse, Chief Clerk of the War Department, brought me a draft of a letter to the Governor of Georgia in answer to a blank cover enclosing a complaint signed by several citizens of Georgia, of thefts and menaces of Creek Indians.

16th. Mr. Clay called, being about to leave the city upon his summer excursion. He had sent me his draft of general instructions to Governor Barbour as Minister to Great Britain, which I approved. He left with me a copy of a pamphlet just published by him, supplementary to the former one, in defence of his own character against the charges of General Jackson; and he spoke of the recent appointment of a Postmaster at Cumberland as a subject of great complaint against the Post-master-General.

Mr. Wirt, the Attorney-General, spent an hour with me; spoke of the unlucky controversy that has arisen between the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and the Baltimore Railroad Companies, which must terminate in a lawsuit. He intimated that the Railroad Company had applied to him for his professional services, and asked if this would interfere with his official duty as Attorney-General.

I said I thought it would, the United States being interested in the stock of the Canal Company by their subscription of one million of dollars.

17th. Mr. Southard brought me a long argumentative letter of twenty-two pages from General Scott, full of his rights and his wrongs, and the common law of the army. Mr. Southard brought also a letter from Colonel Henderson, with a small pamphlet containing a system of accountability for clothing, arms, and accoutrements issued to the Marine Corps, an amendment to the existing regulations, which requires the approval of the President. Mr. Southard thinks the proposed system an improvement upon the army regulations. He had also a memorial from Mr. Marvin, the member of the House from New

York, with a note signed by six of the seven members of the Committee on Roads and Canals, recommending an examination and survey of several routes for a national road from the city of Washington to the northwestern frontier of the State of New York. With these papers there was the printed report of the Committee of Roads and Canals, and the bill reported by them, which the House did not read for discussion before the close of the session. Mr. Southard left these papers with me for examination. Mr. Patterson and Mr. Morris, of Baltimore, were here, deputed from the Baltimore Railroad Company. General Macomb had directed the withdrawal of several of the engineer officers who had last year been assigned, at the request of the company, to assist in making their surveys, and among the rest Lieutenant Trimble.

Mr. Patterson and Mr. Morris represent that of three brigades of United States engineers now employed upon their surveys, the continuance of two is so indispensable that the withdrawal of them would delay the operations of the company for a whole year, and that Lieutenant Trimble is one of those without whom they could not proceed; but that they could spare one of the three brigades. I referred them to the acting Secretary of War, with the assurance that all possible accommodation should be yielded to their wishes.

Mr. Rush was here, and had a new question upon the construction of the Act for the relief of the Revolutionary officers. The amount of pay to each officer is limited so as not in any event to exceed the full pay of a captain in the line of the army. The question was whether this should be a captain of infantry, of cavalry, or of artillery. I thought it should be the one or the other, according to the corps in which each officer served. The result of this indeed is that a general of infantry receives not so much as a captain of cavalry or of artillery; but this is the spirit of the law, which provides that a general shall receive no more than a captain of the same arm; and the expression of the law is, that each officer shall receive *his* pay. Now, the pay of an officer of artillery could not be *his* pay to an officer of infantry. The reduced pay to officers above the rank of captain is the established principle of the Act, for which

Congress are responsible; and, as the whole is a gratuity, the superior officers have no right to demand that it should be proportioned to their rank.

Mr. Rush spoke again of the choice of directors for the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, about which he is much troubled. There is a question between Walter Smith and General Mason for Georgetown; between Judge Washington and a Mr. Janney for Alexandria; and there was one suggestion which he inclined to favor, to set aside the three corporations, and make a full board not belonging to either of them. This I thought quite inadmissible.

General Macomb came with Mr. Southard, and we conversed upon the application from the Baltimore Railroad Company, and upon that for the surveys of roads through Painted Post to the northwestern boundary of New York. We agreed that no engineers should be withdrawn from the Baltimore Company except those whom they say that they can spare. I am to read the papers, and answer the application for surveys to Lake Ontario to-morrow.

18th. Mr. George Graham brought me six proclamations for sales of lands, at Cahawba and Tuscaloosa, in Alabama; Lexington and Jackson, Missouri; Little Rock, Arkansas; and Monroe, in Michigan, in October and December next. The Legislature of Alabama, at whose request the sales there have been postponed, wish the postponement to be continued; but the Registrars and Receivers earnestly remonstrate against further delay. Mr. Graham spoke of the location of two reserves for Potawatomie Indians in Indiana, which I directed to be done by the Indian Agent, Tipton. Mr. Graham proposed to engage Mr. White, the delegate from Florida, to assist the Attorney-General in managing before the U. S. Supreme Court appeals pending there, to a very large amount, from decisions against land claims of individuals in the Territory of Arkansas by virtue of pretended Spanish grants. I desired him to make a statement to that effect in writing. Mr. Graham said he had received a letter from G. Davis, late Surveyor-General of lands south of Tennessee, dismissed from office, giving notice that he had thought proper to take away

with him all the papers belonging to the office. He observed that there was no statute remedy for this breach of trust. I thought a remedy could be applied by chancery process in the Courts of the United States. He said there was a statute against this offence in the State of Pennsylvania, which might serve as a model for an Act of Congress. I desired him to send me a copy of it. He said the sales of lands this year would fall short of the estimates.

Mr. Southard took back the papers he had left with me yesterday. I approved the proposed printed regulations for the issues of clothing to the Marine Corps, and agreed that the survey of the roads from the Painted Post to Lake Ontario should be made. I thought no reply was necessary to General Scott's argumentative letter except a simple acknowledgment of its receipt, with notice that it had not in any respect changed the views upon which my decision had been formed.

19th. The wife of Willis Anderson came again to petition for his pardon. All importunities are trials of temper. The importunities of women are double trials. I had refused this woman three times, and she had now nothing new to allege. I now desired her not to come to me again. She hinted that her husband did not wish to be discharged from prison himself, and that it would be no relaxation of his punishment to turn him over to her. It reminded me of the old song about Orpheus and Eurydice.

Mr. Clay came with General Peter B. Porter, the newly-appointed Secretary of War, who arrived this morning. The General had written to me that he would defer his final answer with regard to his acceptance of the appointment till his arrival here. He now mentioned that there was only one scruple which had occasioned hesitation in his mind. There is a question pending with respect to the amount of his compensation as Commissioner under the sixth and seventh articles of the Treaty of Ghent. The treaty itself, an agreement made at the exchange of the ratifications, and two Acts of Congress passed at different times, have bearings upon the question, and his accounts as Commissioner are yet unsettled. I said that as he would have no agency in the settlement of his account, the

questions upon it could not be affected by his acceptance of the office of Secretary of War; and Mr. Clay was of the same opinion, observing that the question upon the settlement of my accounts had been a parallel case. General Porter said that Major Delafield had come on with him for the final adjustment of the accounts of the Commission.

Mr. Rush was here chiefly to inform me of the arrangements which have been agreed upon for the choice of President and six Directors of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. C. F. Mercer is to be President. Governor Kent, of Maryland, Andrew Stewart, of Pennsylvania, Dr. Frederick May and Peter Lenox, of Washington City, General Walter Smith, of Georgetown, and Samuel Janney, of Alexandria, are to be the Directors—the persons from the three corporations being designated by themselves. The election is to be made to-morrow.

Mr. Southard came to speak of the execution of the resolution of the House of Representatives recommending an exploring expedition to the Southern Ocean. He purposes to employ upon it the Hornet sloop of war, to be commanded by Captain Alexander S. Wadsworth; and we had a general conversation upon the objects chiefly to be attended to upon the expedition, which he expects will take from two to three years for their accomplishment. As its objects are partly scientific, Mr. Southard wished that some men of science should be sent with it, and particularly mentioned Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Schoolcraft. I mentioned also Mr. W. Elliot as having applied for employment upon such an expedition as had been proposed heretofore. I observed that, in order to bring to a point the whole subject, he should make a draft of instructions to be given to Captain Wadsworth. We could then discuss that and bring it to a practical plan, embracing all the objects to be contemplated in this voyage of discovery. Mr. Southard said he thought there should be a chaplain attached to it, and that there might be a special appointment for that purpose. The want of an appropriation must necessarily restrict the expense within very narrow bounds.

20th. William Lee, the Second Auditor of the Treasury, left me a paper containing questions in relation to the pay of brevet

officers. There was a new regulation made in June, 1827, authorizing the allowance of brevet pay to every officer exercising a command double that of his rank in the line. Mr. Lee seemed to think that this was not legal, if the command was in the officer's own regiment. But the restriction upon brevet rank within the regiment applies to the command with reference to other officers, and not to the pay. If a captain commands two companies, it is only by virtue of brevet rank as a major: he could not as a mere captain command them. He performs the duties of a major, and has, therefore, a claim to the pay of that rank, equally whether the companies belong to one regiment or to different corps. I gave this opinion to Mr. Lee.

The meeting of the stockholders of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company was held this morning. The President and Directors on whom I had agreed yesterday with Mr. Rush were chosen, not without some counterplotting. Mr. Rush attended, representing the stock subscribed for by the United States. Mr. Mercer afterwards called here, but, happening at that moment to be out, I did not see him. I observed the rising of the solstitial sun this morning by my chronometer, and the noon by the new sun-dial.

21st. Colonel Jones, the Adjutant-General, brought me a copy, printed and manuscript, of all the general regulations of the army adopted since the commencement of the present Administration. He also brought a copy of his argument in 1826 to establish his claim to double rations, which was successful, and he has addressed a letter to me requesting the re-examination of the principles of that argument, to establish his claim to the right of communicating on various subjects of official duty directly with the Secretary of War, which he apprehends may be contested by the present Major-General, Macomb.

General Porter brought me the report of the Visitors at the West Point Academy, and informed me that he had this day taken the oath of office as Secretary of War and entered upon the discharge of his duties. He said he felt some diffidence of his competency for discharging them; but I told him I had no doubt they would soon become familiar and easy to him. I

recommended to him to give his early attention to the accountability of all the various branches of service in the Department.

I observed that there had been some irregularities which had crept into practice from the illegal control over the expenditures first assumed by Mr. Calhoun, and which Governor Barbour, finding established, had not entirely rectified. I mentioned particularly the abuses in the Indian Department, and the difficulty with regard to the settlement of Mr. McKenney's account, which I believed was not yet removed. I also mentioned the appropriations for surveys and works of internal improvement, under the Act of April, 1824, and subsequent Acts in furtherance of it. I said it was necessary to specify the head of Department under whose direction each survey or purposed work should be placed, which I proposed to do by giving written authorities; that distinct accounts should be opened at the Treasury for each separate work, and that nothing should be charged to those accounts as paid to the officers of the army employed upon the surveys, except the extra allowance to them for being employed on that service, their pay and other allowances as officers being of course charged to the army accounts.

Mr. Clay called to take leave, intending to take his departure upon his summer excursion to-morrow. He said he hoped to be back here in August.

Mr. Rush called with two large bundles of papers, which, he said, were the letters received yesterday and this day relating to the execution of the law for the relief of the Revolutionary officers and soldiers. He spoke of the election yesterday of the President and Directors of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, which was satisfactorily accomplished. Mr. Rush said that his engagements of duty here would not permit him to be absent from the city this summer. He recurred again to the construction of the Act for the relief of the Revolutionary warriors, and urged the allowance of the highest captain's pay to officers of infantry above that rank; to which I finally assented. We rode this morning by the race-ground to Rock Creek, before which I read Evelyn and visited the garden. After dinner I walked round the nursery.

22d. Heard at the Unitarian church this morning Mr. Burnap, from Romans xiv. 7: "For none of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself." A dissertation upon the importance to the character and conduct of every individual, of his influence upon the destinies of others. The most remarkable part of the sermon was a contrasted parallel between the characters and historical fortunes of Bonaparte and of Washington, of the former of whom he spoke in terms of unqualified severity, and of the latter with equal panegyric. Bonaparte should have said when dying, "Oh, what a wounded name I leave behind!" Mr. Burnap said his influence over the fortunes of others was greater than that of any man that ever lived, and that he turned it all to bad purposes.

Neither of these assertions was correct. When Bonaparte was at the pinnacle of his power, in the summer of 1810, I told poor Six d'Oterbeck, then Minister of Louis Bonaparte at St. Petersburg, that Napoleon knew nothing but how to win battles, and that after all, standing by itself, it was but a precarious kind of knowledge. Six then all but worshipped him; but he told me that Napoleon had conceived the opinion that he was possessed of supernatural power; that he was more than a human being; and that this phantasy had taken possession of all his family. Six believed that he would finish by establishing a Western empire embracing the whole continent of Europe, and that he would claim to be the prophet of God, and enact over again the tragedy of Mahomet. He also believed that he would succeed in carrying that plan into effect. Bonaparte was a man of great genius for military combinations and operations, whose head was turned by success, who had magnificent imaginations and some generous purposes, but was under no control of moral principle. Very shortly after my conversation with Six, here referred to, Napoleon drove his brother Louis from the throne of Holland, which he annexed to the French Empire. Six d'Oterbeck was recalled, and not long afterwards drowned in one of the canals of Amsterdam. Napoleon and his preternatural power have crumbled into dust, and now he becomes the moral of a sermon against selfishness.

23d. For the benefit of my health I began this day to com-

bine the river bath and the ride. Rode to the rock near the bridge. Swam about ten minutes, and then rode again around the Capitol Square home. Labor in the garden is a third expedient of exercise to which I shall perhaps hereafter resort. I have not yet ventured to undertake it. My complaints result from sedentary habits, for which laborious and hardy exercise is the best remedy. I visited this morning the garden.

Mr. Rush called, and soon went to attend the adjourned meeting of the stockholders of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. He spoke of the necessity of employing further clerical aid for the execution of the Act for the relief of the Revolutionary officers and soldiers. He proposed to refer it all to Asbury Dickins, and to allow him extra compensation for that extra service. I told him that to this there was an express prohibition of law, in the Act of 20th April, 1818, which I read to him. I advised him to engage all necessary clerk-hire, but to observe the limitations of the law. He still inclined to leave it to Dickins, and rely upon an appropriation by Congress to grant him the extra compensation.

Mr. Fullerton called with Judge Clark, the newly-appointed Treasurer of the United States. I mentioned to him the public convenience which would be served by his entering on the execution of his office on the 1st of next month, so that his accounts as Treasurer might commence with the quarter.

General Porter brought me a fresh letter from General Scott. He says he is distressed and embarrassed by my reiterated decisions against him; that he cannot obey the commands of his junior and inferior officer; that he intends to apply for redress in some form to Congress, and he asks a furlough of six or nine months for that purpose.

As this is an affair in which I deem it necessary to take every step with deliberation, I desired General Porter to give notice to the other members of the Administration of a meeting on the subject at one o'clock to-morrow, and in the mean time to communicate General Scott's letter to Mr. Rush and Mr. Southard.

General Porter brought also the reports of the two Commissioners under the seventh article of the Treaty of Ghent, and

showed me on a small map the island concerning the possession of which they differed. He charges unfairness upon the British Commissioner, Barclay, and proposed that Major Delafield should make a supplementary written statement in reply to the misrepresentations of Mr. Barclay; to which I agreed.

Mr. Brent sent me several dispatches, received since Mr. Clay's departure yesterday morning—among them letters from William B. Rochester, Chargé d'Affaires to Guatemala, who has returned, and landed at Savannah. The republic of Central America is in a state of civil war, and the Government is virtually dissolved.

Mrs. Adams is winding silk from several hundred silkworms that she has been rearing, and I am engaged in a long correspondence with my son Charles, and now much involved in giving him an analysis of Cicero's Oration for Roscius of Ameria.

24th. Cabinet meeting at one. Mr. Rush, General Porter, and Mr. Southard present. I stated to them that in every step of these proceedings with General Scott I wished to act with the benefit of their advice; that the conduct of General Scott was insubordinate and disrespectful to a degree that, were it not for the gallant services which he has rendered to the country, I should some time since have dismissed him from the army; that on the rigorous principle of military subordination it was perhaps my duty so to have done. But it was entirely in the nature of our principles and institutions to temper with kindness and indulgence even the rigidity of military discipline. And I thought it particularly proper so to do in the case of an officer who stood so high in the estimation of his country, and towards whom personally I had no other than friendly feelings.

He had three times successively manifested a disposition of disobedience to lawful commands, and now asked for a furlough till next April, avowedly to make an application in some form to Congress, against the orders and decisions of the President. This allegation was itself an insult; for in what manner could Congress control these orders and decisions? Certainly by no other mode than by impeachment of the

President, or by an ex post facto law to annul a purely Executive act. I should, therefore, on no consideration grant him a furlough. It had occurred to me that in giving him this answer it would be proper to order him peremptorily to his post, and to fix a day when his present leave of absence from it should cease.

General Porter thought an intimation ought to be given in the answer not only that the furlough could not be granted, but that the request was not admissible, even as a subject of consideration; which was approved. General Porter also said that the course might be taken of ordering him here, of giving him informally and verbally warning of the consequences which he was bringing upon himself by his conduct, and inducing him to ask to withdraw all the correspondence upon the subject and repair to his post.

But Mr. Rush said that with Scott's character, and after his controversy with Gaines upon this same question, he would certainly take every such indulgence for concession, and abuse it. Mr. Southard concurred in this view.

I desired General Porter to make a draft of a letter limiting the furlough, and we adjourned the meeting till to-morrow at one.

25th. Colonel Jones, the Adjutant-General, brought over the letter of General Scott to him asking a leave of absence from his command for twenty days, and the answer. Scott's letter is private, and asks not a furlough to be announced in general orders, but this short leave of absence; which, by order of the Secretary of War, was granted. I told Colonel Jones that I must ask for copies of both the letters, because I should now limit the time of General Scott's leave of absence, and it was therefore necessary to authenticate the time and manner of his obtaining it. General Scott was pursuing such a course that I thought it probable these letters would all be published. He asked his leave of absence to visit his family, who were about to embark for France. I told Colonel Jones that he might inform General Scott that I had required a copy of his letter asking for the leave of absence.

General Porter came with Major Delafield, and spoke of the

disingenuous proceeding of Mr. Barclay, the British Commissioner, under the seventh article of the Treaty of Ghent. Major Delafield undertook, with my assent, to draw up a statement in reply to that part of Mr. Barclay's report. It appears that both parties have abandoned Mitchell's map, which is acknowledged to be incorrect, of the topography of those regions.

The adjourned Cabinet meeting was held at one. Present Mr. Rush, General Porter, and Mr. Southard. General Porter had the draft of a letter in answer to the last from General Scott. It varied a little, as we thought with improvement, upon that which was proposed yesterday. In refusing the furlough which he asks till next April, it states that the reasons which he assigns for asking it are conclusive against its being granted; and adds that, as the order from the War Department granting him leave of absence was not limited in time, I had thought proper to fix the 25th of July next as the term, and that I expected he would by that day have returned and resumed the command of the Western division of the army. One or two slight modifications were necessary, which were pointed out, and with them General Porter is to dispatch the letter this evening.

After the meeting was over, I had much conversation with Mr. Rush upon the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and with Mr. Southard upon the proposed exploring expedition. The by-laws of the corporation have been reported and adopted, and the salary of the officers fixed. Mr. Rush thought they might have dispensed with a treasurer; but that was not agreed to. Mr. Southard said he believed Captain Wadsworth would decline taking the command of the expedition, and he was perplexed to find a substitute for him. There was much, and, I hope, not useless, discussion of various topics connected with the fitting out of the expedition.

26th. Dr. Watkins told me there was an appointment of a Postmaster to be made at Maysville, Kentucky; that it was an exceedingly important office, and, unless care should be taken, he was afraid the Postmaster-General would appoint an inveterate enemy to the Administration. This day there was a great public dinner given by the citizens of Georgetown to

Mr. Mercer, to which I was invited, but, on the established usage, declined attending.

27th. Mr. Southard proposed to employ Mr. Reynolds to visit Nantucket before the exploring expedition shall be fitted out, to obtain there, and report, all the preliminary information which can be acquired from the navigators of that place who have frequented the Southern Ocean in whaling ships, and which Mr. Southard expects will be considerable and very useful. To this I agreed; the expense to be defrayed in the first instance from the contingent fund of the Navy Department. But I advised that an account should be opened with the expedition, to which ultimately every expense incident to it should be charged, so that those which may be incurred before the next session of Congress may be included in the estimates for the ensuing year.

28th. Mr. Gales and Mr. Coxe, Mayors of Washington and Georgetown, came, as a committee from the corporations of the District, to say that they had determined first to break ground upon the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal on the 4th of July, next Friday. They were charged to invite my attendance, and that I would give the first stroke of the spade; with both which requests I told them I should with great pleasure comply. They said they proposed to go from Georgetown in steamboats to the place where the work is to be commenced, in the State of Maryland, near the bridge of the Little Falls. They propose to go from Georgetown at six o'clock in the morning; and Mr. Gales thought it would be all over so that we should be back here by ten. Mr. Coxe thought it would absorb the greatest part of the day. It makes a question whether the usual reception of company at the President's house can take place—the final determination of which was postponed.

30th. The eighth day in succession of my river-baths. I rode to the rock, swam fifteen minutes, and then rode to the navy-yard. Overtaken by a shower, near the Capitol, and took shelter under one of the arches. Found Mr. Persico, the Italian sculptor, there, and went up to view his work at the pediment, of which I furnished him the design. He is now upon the last figure, Hope; and thus far his execution is very

satisfactory. His Eagle had been indifferent in the drawing; better, but not good, in the model. In the work itself it is the pouncing bird. He called my attention to the Anchor, and said I had told him the anchor of his model was a Dutch anchor: he had, therefore, gone to Commodore Tingey and taken for his model a true anchor of a ship of war. "And now," said he, "whenever a sailor looks at this pediment he will say, How exact the anchor is!" He said he should paint the scales in the hand of Justice white; they must be painted to prevent them taking the rain, making verdigris, and dropping it upon the stone figures. He says he expects to finish the work in about two months.

Mr. Andrew Stewart, the member of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania, called. He has been chosen one of the directors of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, and comes to attend their meetings.

Major Delafield called to take leave, and brought back General Porter's report upon his difference with the British Commissioner on the seventh article of the Treaty of Ghent. He spoke again of the necessity of a reply to the disingenuous misrepresentations of Mr. Barclay's report, and said he would prepare it on his return to New York. He also offered his services for any further public employment to which he may be deemed competent. I received shortly before dinner a note from Marshal Ringgold, with a letter from J. S. Skinner, the Postmaster at Baltimore, informing him that Mr. Monroe had spent the day, yesterday, with Mr. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and would be here this afternoon. He came and spent an hour with me in the evening, and promised to dine with me to-morrow. He has left Mrs. Monroe with her daughter, Mrs. Gouverneur, near New York, where she is to pass the summer. We conversed together upon indifferent topics, and upon European politics, without touching upon the present state of our own affairs or the convulsive agitation of the public mind at the approach of the Presidential election. He is going to attend a meeting of the Visitors of the University of Virginia.

Day. I rise at the average of a quarter-past four. Sometimes write an hour or two, but more frequently devote the morning

to exercise and idle occupation—watching the plants in my pots and boxes; visiting the garden; reading Evelyn's Sylva; riding from eight to fourteen miles on horseback, or swimming from a quarter to half an hour in the Potomac. Breakfast between nine and ten. Receive visitors, transact business, and write at intervals, and read newspapers, public documents, and dispatches, till between five and six, when we dine. Visit my nursery, and make trivial observations upon the vegetation of trees till dark. Repose in torpid inaction from one to two hours. Write from one to two more, and between eleven and midnight retire to bed.

July 1st. Mr. Rush brought me an estimate of the state of the Treasury this day, after the payment of upwards of five millions of principal of the public debt; from which it appears that there will remain in the Treasury a balance of four million nine hundred thousand dollars, and that the receipts of the Treasury for the first half-year have been twelve million three hundred and sixty-nine thousand dollars; so far exceeding our estimates of last winter as to warrant the expectation that the receipts of the whole year will exceed the estimates. We have, therefore, every encouragement to hope that we shall at the expiration of the year have paid off seven millions of the debt.

2d. Mr. Wilde, a member of the House of Representatives from Georgia, came to enquire if I had decided upon the application from the delegation in Congress for a revisal of the rejection heretofore of certain claims of citizens of Georgia for indemnity from Creek Indian depredations, according to the fourth article of the treaty with the Creeks, of 8th January, 1821. I told him that the Attorney-General having been, with the exception of two or three days, absent ever since I received the memorial from the delegation, I had not yet referred the papers to him, as would be necessary before coming to a decision; much of the argument for the revisal resting upon a difference alleged between two opinions of the Attorney-General heretofore given—one, upon these claims of the citizens of Georgia, and the other, upon claims of citizens of the United States of indemnity for slaves carried away, contrary to the

first article of the Treaty of Ghent—the first opinion being against the allowance of interest, and the second in favor of it.

3d. Mr. Rush called for a few minutes, but was going to attend the adjourned meeting of the stockholders of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company. The arrangements for the ceremony of breaking ground to-morrow are published in the newspapers of this morning, and also a notice that, in consequence of my attendance at that ceremony, there will be no reception of visitors at the President's house. Mr. Brent was here, and I spoke with him of the applications of the two priests Harold and Ryan for the interposition of this Government with that of the Pope to obtain the revocation of an order from his Holiness to them to repair forthwith from Philadelphia to Cincinnati, in the State of Ohio. I desired Mr. Brent to make a draft of such a letter to the Cardinal Secretary of State as would answer the views of Mr. Harold and Mr. Ryan and at the same time not be offensive to the Papal Government; and I charged him with this duty the more readily because, being himself a Roman Catholic, a letter known to be written by him would be probably more acceptable, and more likely to be useful to those in whose behalf it was requested, than if written by a Protestant.

Mr. Mercer called this evening and mentioned to me the definitive arrangements for the ceremony. The company to assemble between seven and eight to-morrow morning at Tilley's Union Hotel, in Georgetown; to walk in procession to the steamboats; then ascend the river to the First Bridge, and thence in canal-boats to the spot where the work is to commence; where he will present to me a spade, addressing me with a few sentences, occupying not more than five minutes. I told him that as at this time I must expect that whatever I might say would be severely criticised and misrepresented, I had thought proper to write what I should say, so that at least I might be responsible for nothing else; that, deeming the work to be commenced of great importance to the country and to future ages, I thought it suitable to the occasion to give to the ceremony somewhat of a religious character, and I read to him the address as I proposed to deliver it.

He approved of it altogether, though he thought the last paragraph, expressing good wishes for the success of the Baltimore Railroad, which is also to be commenced to-morrow, would not meet with sympathy from my hearers, as they believed that to be a rival project; but it was, nevertheless, entirely proper for me to speak thus, and the religious cast of my address was conformable to his own sentiments. He would adapt the few words he should say, on presenting me with the spade, to the purport of my own discourse.

4th. Independence Day. Chesapeake and Ohio Canal commenced. Between seven and eight this morning I went with my son John to the Union Hotel, at Georgetown, where were assembling the President and Directors of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company; the Mayors and Committees of the corporations of Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria; the heads of Departments, foreign Ministers, and a few other invited persons. About eight o'clock a procession was formed, preceded by a band of music, to the wharf, where we embarked in the steamboat Surprise; followed by two others, we proceeded to the entrance of the Potomac Canal, and up that in canal-boats to its head—near which, just within the bounds of the State of Maryland, was the spot selected for breaking the ground. The President of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, with a very short address, delivered to me the spade, with which I broke the ground, addressing the surrounding auditory, consisting perhaps of two thousand persons. It happened that at the first stroke of the spade it met immediately under the surface a large stump of a tree; after repeating the stroke three or four times without making any impression, I threw off my coat, and, resuming the spade, raised a shovelful of the earth, at which a general shout burst forth from the surrounding multitude, and I completed my address, which occupied about fifteen minutes. The President and Directors of the Canal, the Mayors and Committees of the three Corporations, the heads of Departments, members of Congress, and others, followed, and shovelled up a wheelbarrow-full of earth. Mr. Gales, the Mayor of Washington, read also a short address, and was answered extemporaneously by Andrew Stewart, the

Director of the Company from Pennsylvania. After a short repose under a tent on the banks of the canal, we returned by the canal-boats to the landing, and thence in the steamboat, where, as we re-descended the Potomac, the company partook of a light collation upon the deck. I was asked for a toast, and gave, "The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal: perseverance." Mr. Mercer and Mr. Rush also gave toasts.

About half-past two I was landed at Davidson's wharf, where my carriage was waiting, and, after taking Mr. Rush home, I returned to mine. The Marshals of the day escorted me home on horseback, came in and took a glass of wine, and took leave with my thanks for their attentions. The day was uncommonly cool for the season, with a fresh breeze, and towards evening there was a gentle shower. The exertion of speaking in the open air made me hoarse, and with the anxiety, more oppressive than it should have been, to get well through the day, exhausted and fatigued me, so that I was disqualified for thought or action the remainder of the day. As has happened to me whenever I have had a part to perform in the presence of multitudes, I got through awkwardly, but without gross and palpable failure. The incident that chiefly relieved me was the obstacle of the stump, which met and resisted the spade, and my casting off my coat to overcome the resistance. It struck the eye and fancy of the spectators more than all the flowers of rhetoric in my speech, and diverted their attention from the stammering and hesitation of a deficient memory. Mr. Vaughan, Chevalier Bangeman Huygens, Barons Krudener and Stackelberg, and several other members of the Corps Diplomatique were present, and thought it, perhaps, a strange part for a President of the United States to perform.

Governor Kent, of Maryland, was there, as one of the directors of the company, and compared the ceremony to that said to be annually observed in China.

5th. Mr. Southard called after breakfast, in some perplexity respecting the construction of an Act passed at the recent session of Congress, for increasing the pay of the surgeons in the navy. The phraseology of the Act does not express the intention of Congress in passing it, and, unless liberally con-

strued, that intention cannot be fulfilled. But he had not a copy of the Act with him, and I had it not at hand. We spoke further of Judge Brackenridge's letter respecting the cultivation of the live-oak. I consented that the Judge should be engaged to superintend the exploration of a forest of these trees near Pensacola, and to employ from ten to twenty men upon the necessary labor of clearing and dressing and taking care of the trees; to which I desired that planting acorns should be added. This part of the establishment he supposes to be unnecessary, and that it will be sufficient to cultivate the trees already growing. But the natural history of the live-oak has many singularities, and has not been duly observed. Among my reasons for desiring that a considerable plantation of them should be raised from the acorn is, that their growth to maturity may be observed, and perhaps a better knowledge of them be obtained. Mr. Southard will write to Judge Brackenridge accordingly.

7th. Took the morning bath from the boat in the river, and the day was absorbed by a succession, almost uninterrupted, of visitors, from the breakfast to the dining hour. First, from Mr. Mercer. Next, from a man who said his name was Arnold; that he belonged to the county of Middlesex, Massachusetts; that he had been travelling, and found himself here without money; he would be much obliged to me for a loan to bear his expenses in returning home; which I declined. Colonel Thomas followed, going shortly for New York, and his suttling expedition to Bangor, Maine. He spoke very favorably of the new Treasurer, Mr. Clark, and mentioned to me some new indications of the political treachery of the Postmaster-General, McLean. Of this I can no longer entertain a doubt. He has been all along a supple tool of the Vice-President, Calhoun, but plays his game with so much cunning and duplicity that I can fix upon no positive act that would justify the removal of him.

General Parker came to solicit an appointment. He supposes the Delaware breakwater will require an Agent for the disbursement of the money, and offers himself as a candidate for that place.

Governor Barbour came to make enquiries concerning the

instructions for his mission. He proposes to examine the instructions of his predecessors, Mr. Gallatin and Mr. King, and their correspondence, and asked for copies of such as it might be important for him to possess. He spoke of a Convention to be held at Charlottesville, in Virginia, the 15th of this month, for the promotion of internal improvement, of which Mr. Madison and Mr. Monroe are to be members. He himself is elected a delegate from Orange County, and enquired if he could, without public inconvenience, so far postpone his departure as to attend at that Convention. I thought he might: the delay could not exceed two or three days, and I supposed it would be sufficient for him to embark at New York the 1st of next month.

Colonel Thayer, the Superintendent at West Point, was here, but I had no opportunity of conversing with him on the state of the Academy.

Mr. Southard brought me a bundle of letters and enclosures from Master-Commandant Charles W. Morgan, commander of the sloop-of-war Falmouth, just arrived at Pensacola, from a cruise in the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea. This vessel was sent out to take W. B. Rochester, Chargé d'Affaires to the republic of Central America, and John Mason Junr., the Secretary of Legation to Mexico, to the countries of their respective destinations. He landed Rochester at Omoa, but, instead of proceeding to his post, he posted off to the British settlement in the Bay of Honduras, and thence back to the United States, where he arrived some time sooner than the Falmouth, which carried him out. Morgan, in a private letter to Mr. Southard, intimates that Mr. Rochester was quizzed into a very unnecessary panic by a British Agent at Omoa, and describes his agitation and movements in a manner somewhat ludicrous. Rochester's masterpiece of diplomacy seems to have been in changing his ships, and coming back in a different vessel from that in which he went out.

8th. The omission of my morning ride on horseback the last four days is already perceptible to my health. I therefore mounted my horse again this morning, and rode through the woods, returning by the race-grounds—about ten miles.

9th. Mr. Brent showed me a letter from Mr. Clay, dated the 1st of this month, at the White Sulphur Springs, in Greenbriar County, Virginia. He expects benefits from those waters. Mr. Brent submitted also the draft of a letter that he had written to Mr. Brown, our Minister at Paris, requesting him to make, through the Pope's Nuncio there, a representation to the Court of Rome in behalf of the two priests Harold and Ryan, against the papal decrees by which they are ordered from Philadelphia to Cincinnati, in the State of Ohio—which decrees they insist that the Pope had no right to issue. I approved Mr. Brent's draft, in which he alluded to the fact of his being himself a Roman Catholic.

Colonel Jones, Adjutant-General, introduced Major Thomas J. Beall, of the Second Regiment of Infantry, and he left with me a copy of his paper upon the functions of the officers of the staff. He came again shortly afterwards, under some agitation, with an order from General Macomb, announcing in orders to the army that he had received from the Secretary of War the list of cadets recently graduated and appointed second lieutenants in the army; and the order directs them to report themselves at their respective stations. Colonel Jones stated that this was a variation in the form of proceeding observed since 1824; that all orders announcing promotions and appointments in the army have issued from the Department of War and been certified by the Adjutant-General. The practice had indeed been otherwise from the reduction of the army in 1821 till 1824, while Major Nourse was acting Adjutant-General; and Jones hinted that Nourse, being now Chief Clerk of the War Department, had communicated this list directly to General Macomb, without apprising the Secretary of War of it. General Porter soon after came in, and I referred the papers to him, requesting him to examine them and give me his opinion which was the most correct of the two courses of proceeding. He also brought me a letter from Messrs. Ogden and Troup, the New York purchasers of the Seneca Indian lands, by the treaty upon which the Senate at their last session declined acting, and some enclosures. I gave him the letter from the Attorney-General asking for

papers relating to the claims of Georgians against Creek Indians, and to the decisions of the Commissioner, Governor Preston, and requested him to have the papers looked up and sent to Mr. Wirt.

Governor Barbour called, and told me he proposed to leave the city on Saturday, and return home to attend the Internal Improvement Convention next Tuesday at Charlottesville, and to proceed from home at the close of the next week to embark at New York for England. He made some further enquiries of the usual modes of proceeding in the delivery of credential letters and intercourse with the Court.

10th. General Porter brought the treaty of January, 1826, with the Creek Indians, the subsequent Act of Congress of May, 1826, making an appropriation for the removal of those Indians west of the Mississippi within two years, and the Act of 9th May last, making a further appropriation of fifty thousand dollars for the object, but without extending the time. The two years having expired, the question is, whether, by the last Act of appropriation, the agency can be continued and the moneys applied to defray the expenses of removal of other parties of the Creeks. I had no doubt that the new appropriation was an implied extension of the time, and shall understand the law accordingly. General Porter told me that upon the question of form of the order announcing the appointment of cadets to lieutenancies in the army, he thought Colonel Jones's views were correct, and that the orders should issue directly from the Department of War. I was of the same opinion, and desired General Porter to see General Macomb and make known to him our impressions on the subject.

Mr. Rush called for a few minutes; going to attend a meeting of the stockholders of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. They are now getting into difficulties between the conflicting local interests of Washington and Georgetown, and the question whether a new canal in the city shall be undertaken as a part of the main canal or must be a separate and distinct undertaking of the city itself.

Mr. Vaughan, the British Minister, called this day to introduce the Bishop of Nova Scotia, Inglis, who is travelling in

this country with his family, and Judge Haliburton; but I could not receive them. They are to leave the city to-morrow.

11th. I enter this day upon the sixty-second year of my age —a life already longer than is enjoyed by three-fourths of the human race. The first sentiment suitable to the day is of gratitude for this mercy; the next, a deep conviction of the duty of applying the short remnant of days that I can expect, to purposes such as the Taskmaster may approve; the third, a supplication for favor and fortitude from above. My ride this morning was abridged by finding the tide so high at the passage of the Rock Creek Bridge, near Kalorama, that we turned back without attempting to pass it.

General Porter came, and took the papers relating to the land treaty with the Seneca Indians, now in controversy. No report having yet been received from the Commissioner appointed last May, R. M. Livingston, the definitive answer of the Secretary of War to Messrs. Ogden and Troup is to be postponed.

Mr. Bulfinch came with two written inscriptions for the base of the pediment of the Capitol. The object was to give simply the date of the commencement of the building, and that of its being finished. But, recent as the event is, there is no record of the day when it was commenced; the books of the Commissioners only showing that it was between July and October, 1793.

The Mayor spoke to me of an application two years since from the city authorities for a new survey of the city by engineers of the United States and under the authority of the General Government. The recollection of the former application had escaped me. Mr. Gales said he would send me a written statement of the reasons which rendered a new survey, in the opinion of the city government, necessary. He also spoke of the recent movements in South Carolina, tending to civil war and a dissolution of the Union, and to a call in Kentucky upon John Rowan, one of the Senators from that State, to account for opinions openly avowed by him since his return from this city, that in the event of the re-election of the present President of the United States the next Congress would be the last

that would ever assemble. These blusterings of the South Carolina politicians about the dissolution of the Union are used for the purpose of carrying the election by intimidation, or, if they fail in that, of laying the foundation for forcible resistance to the laws to break down or overawe the Administration after the event. It is the counterpart of the New England dissolution project, which began with the purchase of Louisiana and ended by the Hartford Convention.

Governor Barbour called to take leave, going for home tomorrow, intending to be here again the 23d and 24th of this month, and to embark from New York the 1st of the next. He mentioned that among the papers furnished him there was no full power, Mr. Clay having supposed that there would be no immediate occasion for the negotiation of any treaty; but he thought that possibly a negotiation might be proposed by the British Government, in which case, he said, he should be awkwardly situated; and I told him that I would direct Mr. Brent to have one made out for him.

Mr. Southard, who has been several days unwell, confined to his house, brought me the proceedings, extremely voluminous, of a Court of Enquiry upon the conduct of Lieutenant Percival, of the navy, at the Sandwich Islands. I had received two days since a long report of Samuel D. Parker, who was employed as counsel by the Board of Foreign Missions against Percival. It is made to Samuel Hubbard, the President of the Board, and contains much insinuation and some complaint against the proceedings of the Court of Enquiry. Mr. Southard took this paper with him.

12th. We took a ride this morning of about fourteen miles, with which I was more fatigued than I have been since I began these morning rides. Mrs. O'Sullivan came again with her tale of misery and distress, her children, her man's attire, and her book, for which she is soliciting subscriptions. It is a difficult thing to persevere in kindness with a half-insane man—with a half-insane woman, impossible. She wrote me a long letter some days since, offering, if I would supply her wants of money, to resume her female raiment. I now told her that I knew not why she renewed her applications to me, as I had

several months since given her a definitive answer, more than once repeated. She said she was sensible of the extreme prejudices in this country against her male clothing; and I told her that I partook of those prejudices. I gave her a five-dollar bill, and entreated her not to come to me again.

Mr. Brent, of the Department of State, came for dispatches received from W. Tudor, at Valparaiso, 13th April, and from J. M. Forbes, at Buenos Ayres, of 9th May. He brought also the treaty with Mexico, and the resolution of the Senate advising and consenting to its ratification, which, he observed, took no notice of the supplementary articles; but, as they are declared explicitly to form a part of the treaty, there was no necessity for special notice of them in the resolution of the Senate.

General Porter was here again upon the form of the order announcing the appointment of the graduated cadets to brevet second lieutenancies in the army. He thought the order should be issued from the Department of War and be signed by him; which I approved.

14th. Mr. Southard and Commodore Rodgers came together. Rodgers just returned from the annual visitation at West Point, and from a tour to Portsmouth. They spoke of the exploring expedition recommended by a resolution of the House of Representatives at their last session, and of the re-survey to be made for fixing the place of the Delaware breakwater. Rodgers suggested many difficulties to the fitting out of the expedition during the present year, and particularly that there was no vessel in the navy suited to the service, all the sloops of war being too large, and the schooners too small. None of the sloops of war can be fitted out in less than seventy days, and with great difficulty in less than ninety. The Hornet, the Erie, the Lexington, and the new sloop now building here, called the Vandalia, were successively considered, and all found liable to great objection. But I earnestly urged that the expedition should at all events be dispatched. I have a deep anxiety that this expedition should be undertaken, and as far as possible executed, under the present Administration; and I observed that the next year we might not, as it is in my own

mind certain that we shall not, have the opportunity. The Lexington is to be got ready as soon as possible. To proceed upon the survey for the breakwater, Commodore Rodgers is to meet General Bernard and Mr. Strickland at Philadelphia about the 1st of next month; Clement C. Biddle to be appointed a Navy Agent, to superintend the disbursement of the money and the keeping of the accounts.

15th. I substitute the shower- and tub-bath for swimming in the river, and the long ride on horseback for a walk. It is not so effective to improve my health as I had hoped it would be, but perhaps sustains me from sinking at this season altogether.

16th. Mr. Southard was desirous of obtaining some evidence of my opinions concerning the encouragement of domestic manufactures and the tariff. I read to him my letter to R. Walsh, of 16th March, 1824. General Porter mentioned that he had been examining the various branches of the service in the War Department, and particularly that of intercourse with the Indians, which he thought would require a system of regulations. He had thought of inviting Governor Cass, of Michigan, and General Clark, of Missouri, to come to this city to assist in forming such a system. I advised that he should first write to them and ask their general views on the subject in writing; after which, if it should be found expedient, they may be invited here. He said he would take this course. He has a report from Mr. Livingston, the occasional Agent to the New York Seneca Indians. Red Jacket has been reinstated as a chief, and the removal of the remnant of the tribe to Green Bay becomes more questionable. Mr. Brent brought a letter from Langdon Cheves resigning his seat as a Slave Indemnity Commissioner, because he is detained by a bilious fever in New Jersey and cannot attend their meeting.

17th. I had this morning a visit from Mr. Pleasants and Mr. Seawell, the Slave Indemnity Commissioners. Mr. Brent, of the Department, came with them. They are desirous rather of waiting for the recovery of Mr. Cheves than that a new Commissioner should be appointed in his stead. Mr. Seawell thought that if Mr. Cheves should arrive here in four weeks

from this day, there would be no delay in the business of the Board. Mr. Pleasants thought there might be some delay, but less than would inevitably follow from the appointment of a new Commissioner. The term of existence of the Commission itself is limited to the 1st of September. Mr. Cheves writes that he was on his way to his residence at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, intending to proceed thence to this place, to the adjourned meeting of the Commissioners, when he was taken ill with a bilious fever in New Jersey; and that his physician informed him that he could not safely move from that place in less than eight or ten days from the date of his letter, 14th July. He assigns no other reason for resigning; but there have been conflicts of opinion between him and the two other Commissioners, and he may have other motives than his illness. I therefore desired Mr. Brent to write to him and request him, if he can reach here within three, or even four, weeks, to continue in the Commission; considering the inconvenience that must attend the appointment of a new Commissioner at this late stage of the Commission. Mr. Seawell was under much excitement at the insurgent movements in South Carolina.

Mr. McLean, the Postmaster-General, was here concerning the appointment of a Postmaster at Maysville, Kentucky. Many recommendations in favor of the brother of the late Postmaster's widow, who gives out verbally that he will, if appointed, apply the profits of the office to her and her children's support. A precarious reliance. I advised the appointment of Maurice Langhorne. I spoke of the proceedings relating to the delinquency of the late Postmaster at Philadelphia, Richard Bache; and expressed my strong disapprobation of the proceedings of the confidential Agent, Simpson, upon his own statement. Two of Bache's bonds are now sued, but the bondsmen are worth nothing. The bond upon which S. D. Ingham is one of the sureties has not been sued, because Mr. Ingham is not yet wholly recovered from a long and dangerous illness, a nervous fever. A sentiment of tenderness for this man's condition, worthless, malicious, and profligate as he is, restrains me from rigorous treatment of him at this time.

19th. Mr. Brent and Mr. Southard were here together—Mr. Brent with letters from Mr. Lawrence, Chargé d'Affaires in England, and from Mr. Offley, the Consul at Smyrna. He had also a note from the Chevalier Bangeman Huygens, Minister from the Netherlands, whose house was robbed last Saturday by three of his own servants. They were pursued, and two of them, with most of the stolen articles, were taken in the State of Maryland, and are now in prison at Baltimore. Mr. Huygens applies to have the men brought into the District for trial; and I requested Mr. Brent to have an application to the Governor of Maryland made out demanding that they may be delivered over to the Marshal of the District.

Mr. Lawrence's letters relate to the new changes in the British Ministry—the retirement of Mr. Huskisson and Lord Dudley, and the formation of the Duke of Wellington's military cabinet.

Mr. Offley's letter mentions the admission of an American merchant vessel at Constantinople in April, and gives a decided opinion that the access to the Black Sea might now be easily obtained by treaty. Mr. Southard had another letter from the ex-Surgeon C. B. Hamilton, grossly insulting to him and to me. This was in his own handwriting. This sort of brutality is not uncommon, and without remedy to public men, to whom the use of the horsewhip is interdicted. I desired Mr. Southard to call here Monday morning to make the arrangements for sending my dispatches to Commodore Crane and Mr. Offley. Mr. Rush was here, and consulted me upon some questions which relate to the execution of the new tariff law. Different measures have been adopted respecting appraisements at Boston, Baltimore, and Richmond. He proposed to adopt general regulations, which may extend uniformly to all the ports.

21st. With Mr. Southard, I agreed on the arrangements for dispatching G. B. English as bearer of dispatches to Commodore W. M. Crane, in the Mediterranean. I gave him the draft of my letter to himself, and read to him the letters to Captain Crane and Mr. Offley. Mr. Brent came with George Watkins, the clerk in the Department of State who is to copy the papers

of the proposed negotiation with the Ottoman Porte. I gave him the drafts of a commission to Captain Crane and David Offley, and letters to each of them, directing him to make two copies of each of them, to be ready to-morrow.

Mr. Brent brought me a written opinion of Judge Cranch, that neither the President of the United States nor he, as Chief Justice of the Circuit Court, has authority to demand the surrender, by the Governor of a State, of a fugitive from justice in the District. But he thinks the Judges of the United States Courts in a State may arrest a fugitive from the District and remit him to the Marshal of the District for trial here. I requested Mr. Brent to write to Mr. Williams, the District Attorney at Baltimore, and direct him to take the necessary steps for having the men sent here who robbed the Dutch Minister's house.

In the evening Mr. Silas Dinsmore called on me, and said he wished to give me a history of his life, which I said I would readily hear; and he gave it accordingly from the year 1791, when he was graduated at Dartmouth College, to the present time. A life of dangers and disasters, the most remarkable incident of which is that he was sacrificed to the vengeance of General Jackson upon a secret denunciation of him by the General in a letter to G. W. Campbell, in 1813, never brought to light till sent to the House of Representatives last winter, in answer to a call, and the existence of which Dinsmore says he never knew till it was thus published. Yet upon this letter, written because in the discharge of his duty as Agent to the Choctaw Indians he interposed some obstacles to Jackson's traffic in slaves, Dinsmore was dismissed, and never informed who was his accuser or what was the accusation against him. I asked him to make and transmit to me a written statement of all the facts that he had related to me, and told him that if injustice had been done him, and it should be in my power to repair it, I would. He said he was going the day after to-morrow to Philadelphia, and would there prepare and forward to me such a written statement.

22d. Mr. Southard brought a letter from him to Master-Commandant Parker, commander of the United States sloop-

of-war Fairfield, instructing him to receive G. B. English as a passenger, to carry dispatches to Commodore Crane, in the Mediterranean; also copies of his letters to the Navy Agent at Gibraltar, Richard M. Call, and to Commodore Crane. He took my letter to himself, which I signed. Mr. Brent and George Watkins came on the same business, and Watkins was again here in the evening with two copies of the several papers that I had prepared. Mr. English likewise came, and I informed him of his appointment as messenger to carry dispatches to Commodore Crane, and read to him his letter of appointment and instructions. He received notice of his appointment with expressions of warm gratitude.

24th. Mr. Brent was here, and afterwards Mr. Southard. No letter of appointment had been delivered to G. B. English, and no advance of money been made to him. I determined to revoke his appointment, and, after consulting with Mr. Southard, to send Edward Wyer in English's place. I sent for Wyer and informed him of this new appointment, enjoining upon him the closest secrecy, and that he must be ready to leave this city on Monday morning; both of which he promised. Life is full of disappointments, and among the most mortifying of them to me has been the misconduct of persons whom I have peculiarly befriended. This case of English is one of the most mortifying that have occurred. I have repeatedly procured employment for him in the public service, and, notwithstanding his eccentricities, approaching to insanity, have continued to favor him till now. I can now no longer sustain him. In consequence of the change of the messenger, it becomes necessary to alter almost every one of the papers that I had prepared.

25th. Mr. Coxe came with a memorial in behalf of the southernmost claimants under the Slave Indemnity Conventions, stating that they were informed that Mr. Cheves had resigned his seat at that Board, and urging very earnestly the appointment of another Commissioner in his place. Mr. Brent brought me the reply this morning received from Mr. Cheves to the letter which Mr. Brent, at my request, had written to him, urging him still to retain his seat if he could come on in

two or three weeks. He persists in tendering his resignation; says his physicians now forbid him to leave Lambertsville, the place where he is detained, in less than three weeks, and that even then he will be utterly unable to attend to business of any kind. Mr. Coxe's memorial did not recommend any individual, but he told me the claimants would unanimously be satisfied with the appointment of Colonel Aaron Ogden, now clerk to the Commissioners. Mr. Pleasants and Mr. Seawell were also here, and were both very averse to the appointment of a new Commissioner. The memorial argues that it is doubtful whether the decisions of two Commissioners would be legal, but contends more fervently for the right of a third Commissioner in the event of a disagreement between the two. Mr. Wirt, the Attorney-General, was afterwards here, and he has been concerned as counsel for several of the Virginia claimants. He was also much opposed to the appointment of a third Commissioner, which he thought altogether unnecessary. There have been one or two questions decided by the Commissioners now acting, against the opinion of Mr. Cheves, favoring the claims of persons residing in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, and thereby reducing the amount allowed to the more southern claimants. Mr. Cheves, a native of South Carolina, domiciliated in Pennsylvania, favored the southernmost portion of the claimants; and if they lose their supporter in him I should feel myself bound to supply his place by a Commissioner from the same quarter of the Union with him, or at least entertaining the same opinions on the points controverted between the Commissioners. The two acting Commissioners, however, do not anticipate any difference of opinion between them as likely to arise during the remainder of the continuance of the Commission, which is limited to the 1st of September next. I therefore determined to postpone accepting the resignation of Mr. Cheves so long as there shall be no division of opinion between the two Commissioners now in session. But if they should disagree, so as to require a third Commissioner to make a majority, then I will accept the resignation of Mr. Cheves and appoint a third Commissioner at the same time.

General Porter had an insolent letter from Duff Green, one

of the editors of the Telegraph, demanding inspection and copies of documents in the War Department for the defence of General Jackson against charges contained in publications of C. S. Todd and T. H. Shelby, republished from Kentucky papers in the National Journal of yesterday. This demand was made in minatory language, and with a lying charge of partiality in the late Secretary of War in cases of similar demands made upon him. General Porter expressed a doubt whether he should answer this letter at all, but showed me a draft of an answer which he had written. It declared a readiness to furnish inspection or copies of any documents to persons having any right to claim them, but declined granting them in this instance on account of the reflections in Green's letter upon Governor Barbour, with some argument to justify this course. I thought it would be better after the first sentence to say that the tenor of Green's letter was such as forbade the compliance with his request and the holding any further communication with him.

26th. Dr. Watkins called, and returned a volume of the Journals of the Senate that he had borrowed. He spoke of a long article in the National Journal of this morning against John Randolph of Roanoke, which, he said, was written by Mr. Rush. Randolph is the image and superscription of a great man stamped upon base metal. His mind is a jumble of sense, wit, and absurdity. His heart is a compound of egotism, inflated vanity, and envy. In his drunken speeches in the Senate in the spring of 1826, with the brutality incident to the condition in which he was when he delivered them, he assailed not only the character of Mr. Rush, but the memory of his deceased father. And last spring, after repeating his attacks on Mr. Rush in a speech in the House of Representatives, he published the speech in a pamphlet, with notes, and a second edition, with additional notes, and full of slander upon Mr. Rush, whose publication in the Journal this day, under the signature of "Julius," is only severe retaliation.

27th. With my son John, my nephew, and Antoine, I crossed the river in our canoe, and swam a quarter of an hour on the other side; but the shore is so deceptive that after diving

from the boat, as I supposed, within a ten minutes' swim of the shore, before reaching half the distance I found myself so fatigued that I called the boat to me, and clung to her till she was rowed to the shore. We had crossed nearly opposite the Tiber point, and were annoyed with leeches and ticks at the landing. The decline of my health is in nothing so closely brought to my conviction as in my inability to swim more than fifteen or twenty minutes without tiring. This was the day of most overpowering heat that we have had this season. I attended the morning service at St. John's Church, and heard Mr. Hawley read prayers for the eighth Sunday after Trinity, and preach from Proverbs xiv. 8: "The wisdom of the prudent is to understand his way: but the folly of fools is deceit." Mr. Hawley made this text a theme for descanting upon the terrors of a future state and the dangers of the judgment to come. But, like a very large proportion of the Proverbs, it is a maxim merely prudential. The translation of this text is probably imperfect. The antithesis is not in striking contrast between its parts. Throughout the whole book of Proverbs the wise and the righteous man are considered as identical, and the fool is generally synonymous with the wicked. The first part of this sentence presents an idea sufficiently clear and instructive. But if the wisdom of the prudent is to understand his way, it would seem that the counterpart to the thought should be that the folly of fools is self-deception; and this I suppose to be the meaning of the text in the original language. The man who deceives himself does not understand his way, and the deceit which is the folly of fools is that which they practise upon themselves, and which disables them from understanding their way. In the Proverbs of Solomon there is a great fund of worldly wisdom, the foundation of which is laid in the wisdom which is from above, in piety to God. There is no other genuine wisdom; all else is self-deception—the folly of fools.

28th. Mr. Wilson is a dismissed Deputy Land Surveyor, who came for two purposes: first, to appeal from a decision of the Secretary of the Treasury upon some claim in the settlement of his accounts; and the second was to apply for an appointment as Commissioner or Surveyor, for running the

boundary-line between the State of Louisiana and the Territory of Arkansas, under an Act passed at the last session of Congress. He left with me the papers relating to his claim. These appeals from the decisions of the heads of Departments are very troublesome, and almost always unreasonable. I deem it, however, an indispensable part of my duty to admit them, and fully to examine the claim and the principle of the decision against which the appeal is taken.

Mr. Southard consulted me respecting the construction of an Act of the last session of Congress for the better organization of the Medical Department of the navy of the United States; the object of which is to improve the qualifications of the Surgeons in the navy, by requiring examinations and a probationary term of service for Surgeons to be hereafter appointed, and to give them the benefit of a gradual increase of pay and rations. This last provision was intended to apply also to the Surgeons already in the service; but the Act is so worded that it does not include them. All the provisions in favor of the Surgeons are limited to those appointed according to the regulations of the Act. As the intention of Congress unquestionably was that the Surgeons in service should have the benefit of the increase of pay, Mr. Southard inclined to the opinion that the Act might be so construed that they should receive the allowance; but as the interval to the next session of Congress is very short, and as the language of the Act is so explicit as to give no cover of ambiguity for such a construction, I thought we should wait for an explanatory or supplementary Act, particularly as from the whole purview of the Act there is room for plausible argument that its operation was intentionally confined to the Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons hereafter to be appointed.

29th. Mr. Brent brought me a note from Baron Krudener, the Russian Minister, to Mr. Clay, with copy of a circular from the Russian Vice-Chancellor, Count Nesselrode, to all the Russian Ministers abroad, and a copy of the instructions from the Russian Government to the commander of their fleet in the Mediterranean, prescribing the conduct they are to observe towards the navigation of neutral nations in the present war between Russia and the Ottoman Empire. The principles pre-

scribed to the Russian Admiral are those of the treaty between Russia and Great Britain of June, 1801, with the explanatory Convention of October of the same year. This treaty was the first abandonment on the part of Russia of the Empress Catherine's armed neutrality. It was a compromise with Great Britain, in which she acceded to the Russian doctrine of blockade and list of contraband, and Russia conceded the belligerent right of capturing the property of enemies in neutral vessels. The first question that occurred to me was, whether these Treaties of 1801, between Russia and Great Britain, were still in force between the parties to them as treaties; and I found, in referring to Hertslet's Collection of all the Existing Commercial Treaties of Great Britain with other Powers, made in 1821, that they are not included in it. In the war of 1809, the Emperor Alexander returned to the principles of the armed neutrality, and never afterwards renewed the Treaties of 1801 with Great Britain. I mentioned to Mr. Brent the substance of the answer to be returned, in the absence of the Secretary of State, to Baron Krudener's note, in which I desired him to introduce the enquiry whether the Treaties of 1801 were considered by the parties as still in force, and also the expression of a wish that the principles of the armed neutrality had been adopted by Russia on the present occasion.

Mr. Brent mentioned that Baron Krudener had intimated a desire of a private audience from me—to which I agreed, and fixed it for one o'clock to-morrow.

General Porter and Mr. Rush were successively here. General Porter said his attention had been particularly turned to the expenditures and the accountability in the Indian branch of the War Department, and he thought they required the establishment of a system of regulations, which he contemplated preparing. But he thought he should derive great assistance in the work from Governor Cass, of the Michigan Territory, and General W. Clark, formerly Governor of the Missouri Territory, both thoroughly acquainted with the Indians and with their relations with us. He proposed, therefore, to invite them to come to Washington next October, and, by consultation with them, to prepare the system of regulations.

To this I assented, but advised him to write to them previously and to request a written communication from each of them of his ideas relating to the subject generally. Mr. Rush is still much occupied in carrying into effect the Act of the last session of Congress for the relief of the officers and soldiers of the Revolutionary War. He has also now to settle the accounts of C. J. Ingersoll and Josiah Randall, for services as counsel in the causes before the U. S. Circuit Court in Pennsylvania, resulting from the failure of Edward Thomson. Their charges are high; and I advised him to reduce the allowances to the scale of an average made under former Administrations for similar services.

30th. I sent for Mr. Southard, and requested him to prepare instructions to Captain Crane, commander of our squadron in the Mediterranean, having reference to the circular from Count Nesselrode and the instructions to the Admiral of the Russian fleet in that sea, communicated by Baron Krudener.

Mr. Clark, the Treasurer, and Mr. Rush were here together. Mr. Clark was in some perplexity relating to the office of Chief Clerk under him. It is ostensibly held by a man named Samuel Brooks, who in process of time has become perfectly superannuated, and for more than a year past has never even attended at the office. He is poor, and has no other means of subsistence than his salary. The late Treasurer, Dr. Tucker, who had been for at least ten years before his death past the age of active service, unwilling to adopt the harsh measure of turning Brooks adrift upon the world in the last stage of life, authorized one of the inferior clerks to perform the duties of Chief Clerk, deducting from Brooks's salary the difference between that of the Chief Clerk, which is seventeen hundred dollars, and that of a copying clerk, of eight hundred dollars, the last of which only was paid to Brooks, and the remainder to Mr. Dashiel, who performed the duties of Chief Clerk. This was the state of things at the death of Dr. Tucker. Mr. Clark entered upon the duties of Treasurer the 1st of this month, and now at its close, being called to sign the usual monthly requisition for paying the salaries of the officers in that division of the Department, is very reluctant at giving this sanction to the arrangement which Dr. Tucker had allowed.

He said he wanted a real and efficient Chief Clerk, in whom he could place unbounded personal confidence, and to whom he could, in cases of necessity, entrust even his signature. He did not relish the responsibility of allowing part of the salary legally due to one man to be paid to another, nor that of paying a copying clerk's salary to one who did no duty at all. At the same time, he was sensible of the harshness with which he would be chargeable by dismissing Dashiel from the Chief Clerkship de facto, and Brooks from the same office de jure, and from his substituted pensionary pittance. We had much conversation upon the subject. The appointment of the clerks is by law vested in the head of the Department; but Mr. Rush told Mr. Clark that in this case it should be entirely at his discretion. As the appropriations are all made for the residue of the year, I advised that the arrangement should be continued till its close; that Mr. Dashiel and Mr. Brooks should be notified that it must then cease; that the estimate of appropriations for the next year should be made conformably to the new order, and that Mr. Clark should then designate a Chief Clerk in whom he could place entire confidence: in all which he appeared to acquiesce.

Baron Krudener came at one. He said it had unfortunately happened that the dispatch from his Government containing the official notification of the Russian declaration of war against Turkey had not yet been received by him; that he greatly regretted this, inasmuch as he knew his instructions had directed him, in communicating the declaration, to give with it an exposition of the motives which had rendered it indispensably necessary; that these reasons had been communicated frankly to the principal powers of Europe, and had been altogether satisfactory to France, Austria, Prussia, and Great Britain—the final answers of whom, though variously modified, were all indicative of approbation of the course pursued by the Emperor Nicholas; that he was exceedingly desirous of conciliating the good opinion of the Government of the United States, and he hoped that in answering the notification of the declaration of war they would freely express their sentiments with regard to the course of the Emperor on this emergency.

I answered, that whenever he should be enabled to make the

communication which he had referred to, it would be received with the most friendly interest and answered with the utmost candor; that, from the general and high confidence which we placed in the benevolence and justice of the Emperor, I was well assured we should find no departure from those attributes in the measures to which he had found himself under the necessity of resorting in his relations with the Porte; and that we should take pleasure in giving full expression to this sentiment, so far as it might be compatible with the neutral position to the war in which we should stand. I added that with regard to the circular of Count Nesselrode, and the instructions to the Russian Admiral in the Mediterranean, which had been communicated with his note to the Secretary of State, an immediate answer would be given to him from the Department in the absence of that officer; I should also direct immediate instructions to be given to the commander of the squadron of the United States in the Mediterranean, with the intention, and, I hoped, with the effect, of preserving and promoting the harmony and the best understanding between the two countries. The instructions to the Russian Admiral in adopting the regulations of their Conventions of 1801 with Great Britain had in one respect deviated from the principles which had been more usually favored in Russia, by authorizing the capture of enemy's property in neutral vessels; and I enquired if these Treaties of 1801 were still considered by Russia and Great Britain as binding between them.

He said he could not tell. His Government had adopted the principles which had been agreed upon in those treaties for the basis of the instructions to the commander of their fleet, but it was not their intention to molest the trade of neutral nations, and the measures of the Admiral would probably relax even from the tenor of those instructions. He added that he was authorized to say that if the Government of the United States should be disposed to regulate by a Convention founded upon principles of reciprocity the subject of neutral navigation, he would receive and transmit to his Government any proposal they might offer, and it would be considered with the most friendly disposition to accede to it.

I said I hoped that the best understanding would be preserved by the officers of the two nations, and that on the return of the Secretary of State we should perhaps act upon the suggestion he had given, and propose a Convention conformable to our views, and which might meet those of the Emperor.

He asked if there had been, as was intimated in the newspapers, any movements of the American Government towards the attainment of access to the navigation of the Black Sea.

I said there had been heretofore some advances to that object made, which had not succeeded.

He said that after the close of the present war that navigation would be open to all nations. He observed that he was desirous of making an excursion of some weeks during the vehemence of the summer, and enquired if I could see any objection to his using this indulgence.

I said, none; that I hoped his visits to various parts of our country would be gratifying to himself, and make him favorably acquainted with them.

He took leave, saying that he should report to his Government that my reception of him had been exceedingly kind and friendly, and that he hoped he should soon be enabled to make the official communication relating to the declaration of war.

At two o'clock I went with my son John and his wife to the Female Academy of the Nuns of the Visitation, at Georgetown, and distributed the prizes that had been awarded to the young ladies after an exhibition of a former day. There are upwards of a hundred girls at this school, and prizes were given to perhaps half of them. They consisted of books, work-baskets, ornamented screens, gift-cards with inscriptions bearing the name of the girl to whom they were presented; and I crowned two of the young ladies, the receivers of the first prize, in the first and second classes. The crowns were garlands of flowers. There are at the school three daughters of the sometime Emperor of Mexico, Yturbide, and they all received prizes. The eldest of them had the first crown; and in adjusting it to her head, the sentiment of the vanity of human greatness impressed itself deeply upon my mind. In the intervals between the distribution of the prizes to the several classes there was music

on the piano, and singing, by several of the scholars. Four or five of the nuns were present, presiding at the distribution of the prizes; and at the side of the piano, in the sable weeds of the order, was the young and beautiful daughter of Commodore Jones, who not long since took the veil. At the close of the ceremony I addressed a few words to the young ladies, assuring them that I felt myself as much honored in distributing to them the rewards as they had been in receiving them. There was, however, this difference between us, that on me the honor had been gratuitously conferred, but theirs was the reward of merit. These rewards they would long retain—some of them all their lives; they would afford them a source of pure and virtuous pleasure, as testimonials of the correctness with which they had performed their duties at this early stage of their lives. And now, in taking leave of them, I had two things to say, and which I wished peculiarly to impress upon their minds. The first was, to ask a favor of them, as a friend; the second, to give them a word of advice, as a father. In future life they would often look with satisfaction at these prizes which they had now received, and my request was, that whenever they enjoyed that pleasure they would give at the same time a thought of kindness to the hand from which they had received them. But the advice I had to give them was far more important, as it looked to their own future welfare. Their prizes were the reward of merit, and I wished every one of them to consider her own as a pledge and a promise of further and higher merit. This thought would stimulate them to constant virtuous exertions; and they had my fervent wishes that their lives might be but a long alternate succession of merits and rewards, until at the last they should receive the reward of merit in heaven. We then immediately retired, and returned home.

31st. Mr. Ringgold, the newly-appointed District Attorney for Middle Florida, and afterwards Mr. Graham, of the Land Office, came upon the subject of the land claims now in litigation before the judicial tribunals, and which are to be finally decided by the Supreme Court of the United States. An Act of Congress of the last session authorizes the President to

appoint a Law Agent to superintend the interests of the United States in relation to these land claims in Florida, and also to appoint assistant counsel to the District Attorney. The Law Agent was appointed immediately after the close of the session of Congress; and Mr. Graham is very desirous that Mr. Joseph M. White, the delegate from Florida, should be employed as assistant counsel. There has been some correspondence between them on the subject, and some difficulty on account of the terms proposed by Mr. White, leaving him at liberty to select the cases in which he should be engaged for the United States, and to be employed against them in others. I desired the opinion of the Attorney-General upon this, which was, that Mr. White should be retained generally as assistant counsel, but without being at liberty to select his cases and to appear against the United States in all others. Among the motives for employing him is that of forming a compilation of all the ordinances, decrees, and other vouchers concerning land titles in the American Colonies under the Spanish Government—a work as important for the settlement of the disputed titles in Louisiana and Missouri as in Florida. I requested Mr. Graham to write to Mr. White, now in the State of New York, proposing to employ him upon the terms recommended by the Attorney-General, and, in the event of his declining, Mr. Graham suggested the employment of Alexander Hamilton, whom I proposed to see on my passage through New York.

Mr. Brent, from the Department of State, brought a note from Baron Lederer, the Consul-General from Austria, to the Secretary of State, announcing that he has received a full power from his Government to negotiate a Treaty of Commerce with the United States. Baron Lederer requests an interview with me, for which I fixed to-morrow at one o'clock. Mr. Mercer was here, having come to attend a meeting of the proprietors of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. Mr. Rush also attended their meeting. There are collisions of interests between the different proprietors, which it will be found difficult to conciliate. The inhabitants of Washington City are bent upon having the canal pass through the city, to join the eastern branch of the Potomac; those of Georgetown insist that this

should be a distinct and separate undertaking by the city of Washington itself; and, as no installment of the subscriptions to the stock has yet been paid, there is danger that the corporation and the city subscribers will withdraw from the whole undertaking, by ostensible conveyance of their stock to irresponsible persons.

August 1st. General Porter brought a letter from General Scott, declaring again his refusal to obey an order of General Macomb, insisting upon *his* being Macomb's superior officer, and asking again for a trial by Court-martial. I desired General Porter to notify the other members of the Administration now here to attend a Cabinet meeting at one to-morrow. Mr. Brent brought drafts of answers to the notes from Baron Krudener and Baron Lederer. The latter came and had a personal interview with me, at which he gave me a copy of the full power which he has received from the Austrian Government to negotiate a Treaty of Commerce with the United States. This has been consequent upon a prior correspondence between him and the Secretary of State. I told him that upon Mr. Clay's return to this city a full power would be given him to negotiate with him for a treaty, and that it would afford me the highest gratification to establish the commercial relations between the United States and the Austrian dominions upon a mutually satisfactory foundation.

2d. There was a Cabinet meeting to determine upon the course to be pursued with regard to General Scott's letter. General Porter read the drafts of two letters to Scott: one, short, repeating the command that he should obey the commands of General Macomb, and the refusal to try either Macomb or Scott himself by a Court-martial; the other, assigning at some length the reasons upon which I consider Macomb as entitled to the command and decline submitting the question to the decision of a Court-martial. These were both fully discussed. The letter containing the argument was satisfactory, but we all agreed that it should be reserved to be used hereafter, perhaps in the form of a report. The short letter was approved, with an amendment leaving out an intimation that in the event of Scott's continued disobedience I should dismiss

him from the army. I thought this unnecessary, particularly as it appeared that Scott, although professing to disobey Macomb's order, had really carried it into effect. This fact, however, was left somewhat uncertain by the ambiguous tenor of his own letter, and is to be ascertained by enquiry of Colonel Jones.

4th. General Porter was twice here. Colonel Jones, the Adjutant-General, brought a private letter to him from General Scott's Aide-de-Camp, from which it appears that Scott carried the order from General Macomb into effect, though professedly refusing obedience to it. But, as Scott's own letter to the Secretary of War is ambiguous on this point, General Porter now makes the enquiry of him, and repeats the command to Scott to obey all the orders of General Macomb as Major-General of the army of the United States.

I had some conversation with Mr. Southard on the subject of the vessel to be dispatched upon a scientific and exploring expedition to the South Sea, and expressed to him my earnest wish that her departure might be effected before the meeting of Congress.

Mr. Rush was unwell, confined to his house, and wrote me a note of apology for not coming to take my final directions with regard to the business at the Treasury Department during my absence. Mr. Brent came and took them with respect to the Department of State. I left with him some blank signatures, to be used when necessary for proclamations, remissions of penalties, and commissions of Consuls, taking of him a receipt for the number and kind of blanks left with him, with directions to return me when I come back all the signed blanks remaining unused, and to keep and give me an account of all those that shall have been disposed of. This has been my constant practice with respect to signed blanks of this description. I do the same with regard to patents and land grants; and it should be extended to Mediterranean passports and sea letters. But they are always signed in blank by the President, and the responsibility of their use rests at the Department of the Treasury.

5th. We left Rossburg at five A.M., and arrived at Merrill's

Tavern, at Waterloo, fifteen miles, at eight; there breakfasted, rested our horses till half-past eleven, and then rode to Baltimore, and at fifteen minutes past two alighted at Barnum's Tavern. The morning was cloudy, with a succession of light drizzling showers, by which, being on horseback, I was not a little annoyed; and, having been so long disused to this exercise, the ride of twenty-seven miles this day, following that of nine last evening, was very fatiguing. I found myself also somewhat sore from excoriation. We dined immediately after our arrival at Baltimore, and from four in the afternoon till near eleven at night had a continual stream of visitors, almost all strangers, but who came to shake hands with the President. In the evening there was a Jackson-party popular meeting in the square adjoining to Barnum's House, at which a young man named McMahon, a member of the State Legislature, harangued the multitude for about three hours upon the unpardonable sins of the Administration and the transcendent virtues of Andrew Jackson. He was still speaking when I retired to bed, and I heard his voice, like the beating of a mill-clapper, but nothing that he said. The meeting dispersed about eleven at night. There was a similar meeting of the friends of the Administration a few nights since, and there are ward meetings or committee meetings of both parties every day of the week. It is so in every part of the Union. A stranger would think that the people of the United States have no other occupation than electioneering.

6th. At seven in the evening we arrived at Philadelphia. There was a large concourse of people assembled on the wharf, who gave three cheers at my landing, and a multitude of whom followed me as I walked from the wharf to Head's Mansion House, in South Third Street. They shouted continually as I went, and crowded round me so that I had barely room to pass along. With their shouts occasionally two or three voices among them cried, "Huzza for Jackson!" The throng, chiefly of boys, came into the yard, and remained there, still shouting, after I entered the house, till in a few minutes I went out upon the porch and said, "Fellow-citizens, I thank you for this kind and friendly reception, and wish you all good-night;"

upon which they immediately dispersed. I had then a succession of visitors till near eleven o'clock, among whom were J. Sergeant, W. Jones, the Collector, Josiah Randall, Edward Ingersoll, J. Connell, J. Vaughan, R. Walsh, and many others. Among them was a Captain Boardman, of the army, who spoke of having been tried by a Court-martial, and of whose decision he appeared to be very apprehensive. I told him that their proceedings had not yet been reported to me, and I could say, therefore, nothing concerning them. When reported to me, I should act upon them as my own duties would require, and with a disposition to do full justice to him.

Here the record is broken off, and not resumed until the next date.

WASHINGTON, *December* 1st.—R. M. Johnson, Senator from Kentucky, quite shocked at the virulence of newspaper slanders against the Administration. S. C. Allen thinks I have suffered for not turning my enemies out of office, particularly the Postmaster-General. A committee of both Houses of Congress notified me that they had formed quorums and were ready to receive any communication from me. Answered that I should make one at twelve to-morrow. Mr. Rush read me the draft of his annual report on the finances. Very pleasing. Corrected the message by the revised figures of this report. N. Sanford says Van Buren is not coming. He is elected Governor by a minority in New York. L. Condict spoke of Southard's coming as Senator from New Jersey; fears they will make him a non-resident, as they did Bailey; asked if Southard could not withdraw and return to New Jersey. I thought it unnecessary. Visit from Maryland members, with others. Barney, lately at Charleston, South Carolina. Mr. Brent took Tacon's letter, complaining of Salmon's quarrels with Kirk's children and servant-maids. Bresson and the Duke of Montebello took leave, going to-morrow for Mexico.

2d. Mr. Southard brought from the Navy Department, and Major Nourse from the War Department, the documents to be sent to Congress with the message. At noon the message was sent, and I had a succession of visitors, members of Congress,

till four in the afternoon. I then walked to the foot of College Hill. Jones came, and I returned to him the parchment treaty and papers which Red Jacket, the Oneida Indian, had left with me. Derrick brought a draft of an instruction to J. M. Forbes. Mr. Clay read me a letter from Chief-Justice Marshall, speaking very favorably of J. J. Crittenden to fill the office of Judge of the Supreme Court, but declining to write to me. I had offered the place to Mr. Clay, who declined it. I received a letter from thirteen federalists of Boston, calling for names and evidence.[1] A letter from W. Plumer.

3d. A continual stream of visitors, members of Congress, and a few others, from breakfast till near four P.M., when I took my ride of an hour and a half on horseback. Most of the members of Congress who came were friends, and they had but one topic of conversation—the loss of this day's election. I have only to submit to it with resignation, and to ask that I and those who are dear to me may be sustained under it. The sun of my political life sets in the deepest gloom. But that of my country shines unclouded.

Mr. Crowell, the Agent to the Creek Indians, came to ask for the argument of Walter Jones that he had left with me, claiming for the Indians the balance of a sum stipulated by Treaty of 1821, and reserved for indemnity to citizens of Georgia. I had given it to the Attorney-General, Wirt, for his opinion. The Legislature and delegation of Georgia claim the same balance for citizens of that State. Received this morning a letter from the late President, Monroe. I was myself engaged on the draft of an answer to the Boston federalists.

4th. The visits of members of Congress continue, and absorbed all the morning, and unseated my tranquillity of mind.

[1] This letter was drawn out by a publication of a comment by Mr. Adams, in the National Intelligencer, on a letter from Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Giles, which had been used by the latter as an engine to operate on the election. It was afterwards published under this title: "Correspondence between John Quincy Adams, Esquire, President of the United States, and several citizens of Massachusetts, concerning the charge of a design to dissolve the union alleged to have existed in that State." To this paper Mr. Adams prepared the long and elaborate reply often referred to in these pages, which still remains among the manuscripts in the library he left behind him.

This day several members of the Senate, of my inveterate opponents, came to pay visits of form. Mr. Everett called to recommend the appointment of Mr. Davis, of New York, as a bank director. I invited him to dine with us, and he promised he would, but afterwards sent a note of excuse, saying he would call in the evening; which he did. Sergeant dined with us. In the ruin of our cause he has lost his election as a member of the House of Representatives to the next Congress. He feels severely the mortification. Long conversation with Mr. Everett in the evening on the letter from H. G. Otis and twelve others, asking for names and evidence. I asked his advice, whether to answer it, and how. Read to him part of the draft of an answer that I had written. He took the answer with him. I continued writing upon the draft, which supersedes my paper upon General Scott's pretensions.

5th. Mr. Southard called, to speak of the appointment of a chaplain for this South Sea expedition. Spoke also of his being a candidate for election of Senator from New Jersey, in the place of Dickerson. Wishes not to stand in the way of Frelinghuysen. I read to him the draft of my answer to Otis and others. But I shall take further time for consideration before sending it. Sloane was here with a man from Louisiana, who wanted to see the house. Sloane is another victim to the overwhelming ruin of this Administration. He has lost his election to the next Congress. William Lee has just returned from New York; says he met Otis there, who was very abusive upon me, and told him that I should meet with a bad reception upon my return home next spring. I hear from other quarters that some of the principal old federalists have determined to break off all personal intercourse with me: so that I shall go into retirement with I know not how many bitter controversies upon my hands.

6th. Members of Congress visitors; more than half of those that came this day implacable political enemies; but I must receive all alike. With Mr. Marks, the Senator from Pennsylvania, came a clergyman, from appearance a German, who made of me some enquiries concerning the Genevan-French translation of the Bible. He spoke of Mr. Campbell's preach-

ing to-morrow at the Second Presbyterian Church, and expressed some curiosity to hear him. I invited Mr. Marks and him to take seats in my pew. Mr. Smith, the Senator from South Carolina, spoke of the newspaper controversy between Mr. Mitchell and General Hayne, with others of that delegation, and said he thought Mitchell had the best of it. Colonel Trumbull read to me his proposed report to the House of Representatives, of the measures taken by him for the preservation of his paintings. Mr. Thomas, the Senator from Illinois, told me he was satisfied with the course he had taken in supporting the present Administration. He said I had fewer personal enemies than any other public man he knew. How mistaken! Mr. Everett spent the evening with me, and returned me the federal letter I had lent him.

8th. The current of visitors, members of Congress, has subsided; but a few of them occasionally fall in, and bring with them their friends or acquaintances to introduce them. Visitors still occupy my time from ten in the morning till dinner, leaving me scarcely an interval of one or two hours for my ride or my walks. My hours of writing must be from rising till breakfast, and the evening after eight. Major Nourse came for papers to be copied, and to bring back part of my manuscript upon General Scott's claims. Mr. Whittlesey, of Ohio, was overset in a stage before reaching this city, and much hurt; some days confined to his chamber, and now barely convalescent. He spoke of the petitions of Robert Eaton to be released from a judgment against him. The papers are at the Treasury or War Department. Mr. Johns introduced Mr. Comegys, who brings the Electoral votes of Delaware to the seat of government. Mr. Brent has been making a fruitless search at the Department of State for the original papers of John Henry.

9th. Mr. Bailey spent the evening with me. He enquired if I would accept a seat in the Senate from Massachusetts if it should be offered me. I answered that the first objection would be that I would on no consideration displace any other man. He said he believed Mr. Silsbee was very averse to coming again to the Senate, and would be glad to decline if I would accept. I said there were other objections, my intention being

to go into the deepest retirement, and withdraw from all connection with public affairs. He said Dr. Condict, of New Jersey, had expressed to him the hope that I should not thus withdraw.

11th. Miner asked me if I had determined definitively to withdraw from all public service after the expiration of my present term. I told him that my intention was absolute and total retirement. But my principle would be what it had been through life. I should seek no public employment in any form, directly or indirectly. It was not for me to foresee whether my services would ever be desired by my fellow-citizens again. If they should call for them, while I have life and health I shall not hold myself at liberty to decline repairing to any station which they may assign to me, except for reasonable cause. But I desired him to receive this in confidence as a candid answer to his question, for I wish not even to give a hint to the public that I am yet eligible to their service.

12th. Persico came, just returned from a Northern tour as far as Boston. He is going to Italy, but wishes to be employed for further sculpture at the Capitol. His execution of my design at the tympanum of the pediment was finished just before the meeting of Congress, and is much approved. Mr. Hinckley, the portrait-painter, came, and repeated the request that I would sit to him for my picture. I promised I would as soon as I could find leisure. Colonel Trumbull brought his bill for compensation for his work, under a resolution of the House of Representatives, for the preservation of his pictures. Mr. Elgar disputes his bill (about eleven hundred dollars—which Elgar proposes reducing to seven hundred and fifty). I told the Colonel that if Elgar would take my opinion I would advise him to allow the whole bill. Mr. Clay was here, and spoke of the nomination of a Judge of the Supreme Court; also of attempts of W. King, of Maine, to get Mr. Preble appointed Minister to the Netherlands, to the exclusion of C. Hughes. I nominated Hughes yesterday.

13th. Mr. Silsbee called, and said Mr. Bailey had spoken to him about his declining to be a candidate for re-election to the

Senate. He said he was very averse to remaining in the Senate, but he had consented to be a candidate for re-election, and could not well withdraw, though he should be very glad to resign in a year or two. I entreated him never to think of resigning on my account, and assured him I would not come into the public service again by displacing any of my friends. Wilde and Haynes, members of the House from Georgia, spoke of the Georgia claims to more Indian indemnities. I told them the Attorney-General had given his opinion, in which I considered that I had no power to act in the case. Commodore Tingey came to take leave of me.

14th. Walking home, I was overtaken by Mr. Everett. I asked him if he was the writer of three articles in the National Intelligencer upon the talk of the Winnebago Indians with me the 29th of last month. He was not. I suppose it was Miner. The articles, especially the last, published yesterday, are very well written, and give an exact account of the talk. Sergeant called upon me after the morning service. I spoke to him of the letter I have received from thirteen federalists. We were interrupted by Ringgold and Lee. Ringgold came Friday morning from Mr. Monroe, at Oakhill, and brought me a very kind message from him and from the family, and a promise that he would shortly write to me in reply to my two last letters. I heard Mr. Hawley, from Titus ii. 13: "Looking for that blessed hope." The sermon contained a description, somewhat circumstantial, of heaven. C. Dorsey and J. Sergeant were at church, and Sergeant, on coming out, told me that he would call upon me to-morrow and talk of the federal letter. He said he had heard much of the subject, which had produced a very extensive and unpleasant effect. Evening at home, and I finished the draft of my observations upon General Scott's claim to command General Macomb. But his last pamphlet of sixty pages will require perhaps a week more of occupation upon this subject. I propose to have my observations published in a pamphlet and informally laid upon the table in both Houses of Congress for the use of the members. There are several precedents for this course.

15th. Mr. Clay urged the immediate nomination of J. J.

Crittenden as Judge of the U. S. Supreme Court in the place of Robert Trimble, deceased. Mr. Clay spoke also of a draft of a note to Mr. Vaughan, complaining of a new attempt to impress two American seamen at Campeachy, and proposed to instruct Mr. Barbour about it; to which I agreed. Colonel Thomas came about his claim, the papers relating to which I had not examined. He said the Jackson Central Committee here were arranging all the appointments, to replace the persons to be dismissed.

17th. Mr. Mitchell, a member of the House of Representatives from South Carolina, called to visit me. I spoke to him of the controversy in which he has been engaged, the last autumn, with the rest of the South Carolina delegation at the last session of Congress, there having been meetings at Mr. Hayne's lodgings of a violent character as threatening disunion. Mitchell has all the delegation against him excepting W. Smith, the Senator; but his testimony overbalances all theirs.

Mr. Rush returned my answer to the thirteen, approving its purport, as does Mr. Southard. But Rush yet hesitates a little on the question whether I ought to answer it at all while I am in office. Mr. Southard brought the papers relating to a contract for purchasing stone for the Delaware River Breakwater. He has been very ill again, and was this day compelled to go away, leaving the papers with me. I sent message to S. U. S. No. 9—nominations.

18th. Mr. Bell, Senator from New Hampshire, made some enquiries respecting some recent nominations which have been referred to the Committee of Foreign Relations, of which he is a member. Tazewell is the Chairman, and Mr. Bell expects there will be opposition to the appointments. C. Hughes, now Chargé d'Affaires to the Netherlands, is nominated Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the same Court. Tazewell thinks that this would give Hughes two characters, that of Envoy Extraordinary being limited to the execution of some special mission. I told Mr. Bell that the two characters were, in the practice of European diplomacy, always united together, and had generally been so in ours since the mediation mission to Russia. He asked whether it was proposed to give

Mr. Hughes a full outfit. I told him it was, but that the appropriation must depend upon the will of Congress.

19th. Mr. Clay and Mr. Rush were here together. Mr. Clay spoke of Mr. Tazewell's scruples about the title of Envoy Extraordinary to Hughes, and his question whether a full outfit is to be allowed him. I gave Mr. Clay my letter to the thirteen. Mr. Rush asked me for the papers relating to the seizure of the revenue cutter by the Collector at Key West; also of C. J. Ingersoll's proposal to come here to argue before the Supreme Court the Thomson tea case. We agreed not to let him come. He would be sure to lose the cause, as he has invariably done at Philadelphia.

20th. General Porter brought and left with me a letter, to be sent from him to General Scott, which he left with me for consideration. I renewed the recommendation of R. H. Lee as a clerk in the Paymaster-General's office, and of Dr. Sibley for the Caddoe Indian Agency. Mr. Clay brought back my letter to the thirteen, upon which he made some remarks. I rode before dinner to the navy-yard and Eastern Branch Bridge, and passed the evening in writing, chiefly observations upon General Scott's claims of command.

22d. General Porter was here twice: first, I gave him a draft of a letter to General Scott instead of that which he had prepared; the second time he came to ask me to reconsider my draft, which he thought too severe. I agreed to give it up, and he is to prepare and submit to me a third draft to-morrow. Scott is here, and General Porter brought, the second time he came, his letter announcing his arrival, by which he considers himself as quasi in arrest. Mr. Rush had a letter from Mr. Wirt, at Baltimore, mentioning Judge Duval's wish that he might be employed to assist Mr. Williams, the District Attorney, in a case before the Circuit Court—U. S. *vs.* The Bank of Somerset. We concluded to employ him, with a fee of five hundred dollars. Colonel Jones brought me a volume of records containing copies of all the commissions issued to army officers during the present Administration. No such copies have been hitherto kept. The practice is introduced at my request.

23d. Mr. Clay was here, and spoke of the Agency of Mr.

Gallatin and Mr. Preble on the Northeastern Boundary question, and the amount of compensation to be allowed them. Mr. Clay thought it would be best not to send in an estimate for a specific appropriation, but to make them the allowance, and pay it from the contingent expenses of foreign intercourse. I inclined to sending an estimate and asking a specific appropriation—the allowance to be four thousand five hundred dollars each, and to Mr. Preble seven thousand dollars, if he goes to Europe. Mr. Clay has a dispatch and a private letter from Governor Barbour, in London. In the letter he says that our tariff is as unpopular in England as in South Carolina, and thinks it probable that Mr. Huskisson will bring forward some project of retaliation at the next session of Parliament.

General Porter brought the draft of his letter to General Scott, prepared upon his own former draft and mine. I approved it as he now had it. He also brought me the proceedings of a Court-martial at West Point, sentencing a cadet named Dargan to be shot to death for raising a weapon against his officer. He said he thought I should disapprove the sentence.

Mr. D. Brent brought me a second volume of War Department reports, which explained to me the Major-General's commission of Richard Butler in 1791.

Mr. Evans, of Baltimore, dined with us, and Mr. and Mrs. Everett were here in the evening. I gave him to peruse my answer to the letter of thirteen. He spoke of Dr. Floyd's bill, which is again before the House of Representatives, for erecting the Territory of Oregon at the mouth of Columbia River.

25th. I was engaged all the leisure time of this day in reading over the observations upon the claim of General Scott to command Generals Macomb and Gaines, the second draft of which is now finished, forming a manuscript of a hundred and twenty pages. It would require a third writing over, for which I shall not have the time. Its great fault now is its length, and the numerous repetitions contained in it. There is also perilous matter for myself. But I have written it under a deep sense of duty.

26th. Persico called to speak of a resolution offered by Mr. Buchanan to the House of Representatives, to authorize him

to execute other works of sculpture at the Capitol. He wished that the subjects might be left to the selection of the President, supposing that if they should attempt to fix upon the subjects by Congress, for three hundred members there would be three hundred opinions. He proposed that there should be at the two sides of the front stairs two emblematical groups of War and Peace. Mr. Vinton came, and introduced Judge Burnet, the new Senator from Ohio, elected to supply the place of General Harrison.

27th. Mr. Everett called, and returned me my answer to the *polite* letter of the thirteen federalists. I sent it to Mr. Wirt for his perusal and advice. Everett told me that Mr. Clay had embarrassed him very much yesterday by enquiring whether he might depend upon the support of the Eastern States at the next Presidential election, and said that, if he could, he should be sure of that of the Western States. Everett said he thought it would be impossible to foresee what turn the next election might take. I asked him if Mr. Clay had mentioned what he proposed to do after the 3d of March next. He said he had not. It is generally expected that he will be returned again to the House of Representatives; but Everett said he could not be elected Speaker of the next House. I thought so too, but that he would be the leader of the opposition, and that his further success would depend upon circumstances—upon a course of events which cannot now be foreseen. Mr. Clark is the member from Lexington, who comes in the place of Mr. Clay. He has been unwell, and arrived here a few days since.

Mr. Gallatin brought a document, being copies of the protocols of his negotiation upon the Northeastern boundary, to consult me whether it should be communicated as part of the evidence to the British Minister, Mr. Vaughan. This communication is to be made by the end of the year—that is, within nine months after the exchange of the ratifications of the Convention. Everett was here again in the evening, and I spoke to him of my observations upon the brevet question, upon the mode of communicating which I have not yet determined.

28th. I was much engaged in all the leisure of the day revising my answer to the thirteen federalists. Mr. Wirt sent

it back to me with some very friendly and judicious remarks. He objects to the severity of certain passages in it. I have accordingly struck out a part of them, and was desirous of seeing him to consult him upon the expediency of further omissions. I sent to ask him to call upon me after the morning service; but he was gone, upon his return to Baltimore. I have also added several paragraphs upon a point of the deepest importance, the right of the State Legislatures to declare Acts of Congress unconstitutional. As the letter to which this is to be my answer is the introduction to a long and bitter controversy, the consequences of which to myself and family are with God, it is necessary that every word I am to give to the world in it should be weighed, and my anxiety to be right upon every point is inexpressible. I am still dissatisfied with my letter, and despair of making it such as to be free from cavilling criticism. I commenced also this evening a letter to my son Charles upon this same subject, concerning which he has written to me. This affair, and the brevet question with General Scott, absorb all the faculties of my soul, and leave me scarcely time to perform the remnant of my official duties.

29th. Mr. Gallatin came to take leave, intending now to return to New York. He is employed as Agent, with W. P. Preble, for the management of the controversy with Great Britain concerning our Northeastern boundary, now submitted to the umpirage of the King of the Netherlands, who Mr. Gallatin said was a perfectly upright and very laborious man. His only fear was that if he should find it interfere with his policy he would decline deciding the question. Gallatin said he expected to be here again in May.

31st. Mr. Derrick, from the Department of State, brought me an additional draft of a dispatch to Mr. Samuel Larned, Chargé d'Affaires in Chili, who, by virtue of a full power devolving upon him from Heman Allen, late Minister Plenipotentiary to that republic, has undertaken to negotiate a treaty there. Mr. Clay afterwards came in, and had some conversation with me concerning it. Larned is now appointed Chargé d'Affaires to the republic of Peru.

Mr. Clay spoke to me with great concern of the prospects of

the country—the threats of disunion from the South, and the graspings after all the public lands, which are disclosing themselves in the Western States. He spoke of a long message from Ninian Edwards, Governor of Illinois, to the Legislature of that State, who, he said, wished to take the lead from T. H. Benton, Senator from Missouri, who commenced this inroad upon the public lands. I told Mr. Clay that it would be impossible for me to divest myself of a deep interest in whatever should affect the welfare of the country, but that after the 3d of March I should consider my public life as closed, and take from that time as little part in public concerns as possible. I shall have enough to do to defend and vindicate my own reputation from the double persecution under which I have fallen.

The Month. My rising hour has varied from quarter-past four to seven—the average being about five. After making my fire, I have been constantly writing till breakfast-time, between nine and ten. The morning newspapers then engage an hour more, and visitors and the heads of Departments, and the mail, dispatch time till half-past three or four. Then comes the ride of two hours, or the walk of one. We dine between five and six. I spend an evening hour or two with my wife, and then two or three hours in my chamber, writing again till eleven, and sometimes till near midnight.

I have written very few letters, and a few messages of routine; but the principal occupation of the month has been the finishing of the observations upon brevet rank and command, and the letter in answer to that of thirteen self-assumed leaders of the federal party in Massachusetts, which is now prepared, and will be dispatched to-morrow morning. This is one of the severe trials of my life, and comes while I am passing through another, which leaves my character and reputation a wreck. In looking back, I see nothing that I could have avoided, nothing that I ought to repent.

I have found that occupation suspended the pains of disappointment, and has even filled with enjoyment time which would otherwise have been distracted with anguish and agitation. My principal object will be to habituate myself to interesting occupation. Could I be sure of retaining the interest

with which I now write, the "*engagedness*" which Paley deems so essential to comfortable existence, I should endure my fate with composure perfectly philosophical. I have nothing further to hope from man. My only trust is in the Divine Disposer; and of Him all that I can presume to ask is to stay the hand of His wrath, to grant me fortitude to endure, and, in disposing of me as to Him shall seem wise and good, to extend to my wife and children an abundant portion of His mercies and consolations.

January 1st, 1829.—The year begins in gloom. My wife had a sleepless and painful night. The dawn was overcast, and, as I began to write, my shaded lamp went out, self-extinguished. It was only for lack of oil; and the notice of so trivial an incident may serve but to mark the present temper of my mind. But in every situation in which mortal man can be placed there is a line of conduct before him which it is his duty to pursue; and the season of adversity, though depriving him of the means which in prosperity he may possess of doing good to his fellow-men, is perhaps not less adapted to the exercise of virtues equally conducive to the dignity of human nature. But, in good or in evil fortune, "It is not in man that walketh to direct his steps." Let him look to the Fountain of all good; let him consult the oracles of God. I began the year with prayer, and then, turning to my Bible, read the first Psalm. It affirms that the righteous man is, and promises that he shall be, blessed. This is comfort and consolation, and points in general terms to the path of duty. May the light of this lamp never forsake me!

Our last New Year's drawing-room was crowded beyond all former example, and passed quietly off.

4th. J. W. Taylor, of New York, dined with us, and spent the evening here. We had much political conversation. He is re-elected to the next Congress, but expressed some doubts whether he should come. He concurred with me that the two recent parties are both virtually dissolved—that of the Administration irreversibly; and he thinks Mr. Clay never can take a lead in the affairs of the nation. In this I differed from his opinion, and reminded him of the sudden and total vicissitudes of De Witt Clinton's popularity in New York.

9th. Mr. Clay mentioned the recent occurrence of which

Baron Stackelberg, the Swedish Chargé d'Affaires, had said something to me on New Year's Day. Captain Turner, of the U. S. sloop-of-war Erie, cut out from the harbor of the island of St. Bartholomew a privateer called the Federal, which was under the Buenos Ayrean flag. It appears that she had taken property out from a vessel of the United States as being Spanish property. Captain Turner demanded of the authorities of the island that the privateer, her captain and crew, should be delivered up to him as piratical aggressors upon the property of citizens of the United States. The officers of the island declined giving them up; on which Turner cut the vessel out. The authorities of the island have made a complaint against Turner through a memorial by Baron Stackelberg to the Secretary of State. Mr. Clay answered that enquiry would be made, and wrote for that purpose to the Secretary of the Navy. We agreed that the act of Captain Turner must be disavowed; but I thought the disavowal should be accompanied with an earnest complaint against the authorities of the island for harboring this piratical vessel. The whole subject must be turned over to our successors.

13th. Mr. Clay spoke of Webster's adhesion to the new Administration, proclaimed somewhat ostentatiously by a puffing article in Walsh's Gazette. General Porter had left here yesterday, while I was out, the draft of his answer to the Military Committee on the reference to him of Scott's memorial and of Vance's resolutions. He called this day and took it back. We had some conversation upon it. I did not exactly concur with his views upon Vance's resolutions, but waived all objection to his sending them to the committee. He proposed some alterations and an addition to my remarks on Scott's memorial; to which I agreed.

16th. Mr. Clay said he had mentioned to Mr. Webster Lyman's libel and my publication of 21st October; that Webster professed to have no unfriendly feeling to me, but that he seemed to regret his having prosecuted Lyman.[1] Mr. Clay

[1] See the pamphlet entitled "Report of a Trial of T. Lyman, Jr., for an alleged Libel on Daniel Webster, in the Supreme Judicial Court, Boston, December 16th and 17th, 1828."

had prepared an instruction to Mr. Brown, who is to return from his mission to France in May, directing him to leave the affairs of the mission to J. A. Smith, as Chargé d'Affaires; but I told him I thought it best to leave to the succeeding Administration to instruct him.

Mr. Lowrie, Secretary of the Senate, brought me a resolution of that body confirming several appointments.

General Porter was here, and I gave him the draft of an answer to General Gaines's letter of 22d December; and I asked him for copies of all the papers relating to the case. I gave Mr. Wirt the remainder of my manuscript on the brevet, and read to him the preface, asking his advice concerning the publication. He sent the manuscript back in the evening, with a letter of strong objection to its severity.

17th. I sent for Force, and requested him to stop the impression of the pamphlet upon brevet rank, as I had concluded not to publish it for the present. I desired him to return me the manuscript, and send me a bill for the work done upon it as far as he had gone, which I promised to pay.

Colonel Crowell came to request that I would immediately send to the House of Representatives his letter to me, with Walter Jones's opinion upon the right of the Creek Indians to a balance of appropriations, upon which citizens of Georgia have also claims. I sent for a report from the Secretary of War on the resolution of the House of Representatives, and sent the report, together with Crowell's letter to me, and W. Jones's opinion, with message to H. R. U. S. No. 7.

General D. Parker, to ask me to renominate Callender Irvine as Commissary-General of Purchases. These affairs detained me so that in attending the funeral of Lieutenant-Colonel Isaac Roberdeau I arrived at his house just after the procession had left it. I joined, however, in the procession of carriages, and followed it to the burying-ground.

Mr. Seymour, Senator from Vermont, told me that the majority of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate had determined to report against acting upon any nominations at this session unless in cases of special necessity—Seymour himself and Webster being the minority of the committee against the

resolution. Seymour recommended also Mr. Olin for the appointment of Secretary of Legation to London. Mr. Clay returned me the preface to my observations upon the brevet, with commendation; but I told him I had concluded not to publish them.

18th. I reflected further upon my determination to suppress my observations upon brevet rank. I have put too much temper in them, and, instead of punishing Gaines and Scott, must begin by punishing myself. They have provoked me to anger; but I have to remember the injunction, "Be ye angry and sin not." There is so much of sarcastic bitterness and indignation in what I have written, that I come under suspicion of mistaking my resentment for patriotism. I lose two months of painful labor, and perhaps the usefulness of a cool discussion upon an important subject of military administration. But I teach myself the lesson of treating the subject in a different manner, and perhaps spare myself some additional and unnecessary enmities. Of these I have already more than enough. Part of the solitude of this day was occupied in the anticipations of that condition upon which I am about to enter; in fervent prayer that my heart and temper may be accommodated to it; that I may be provided in it with useful and profitable occupation, engaging so much of my thoughts and feelings that my mind may not be left to corrode itself. I shall need a double portion of discretion and of fortitude. "O Lord my God, in Thee do I put my trust: save me from all them that persecute me, and deliver me. The Lord shall judge the people: judge me, O Lord, according to my righteousness, and according to mine integrity that is in me. My defence is of God, which saveth the upright in heart."—Psalm vii.

19th. Mr. Fendall called upon me this evening, and mentioned his design of publishing a history of the present Administration. He read to me a prospectus which he had prepared of the work, but said that upon further reflection he inclined to adopt a different plan, less marked with the character of a partisan; which I approved. I observed to him that impartiality was the law of history, and that, as the correctness

of the popular voice at the recent election was to be tested by time and experience, it would not be wise or just to assume beforehand that it was all error and delusion. We had much desultory conversation upon the manner in which the history should be written, and I mentioned to him the projects floating in my own mind of writing memoirs of my father's life and my own, perhaps even a history of the United States from the formation of their Confederacy. I told him also that his cousin, Richard Henry Lee, had informed me that *he* had the intention of writing a history of the present Administration; and he spoke of a Mr. Rogers, of New York, who had expressed a similar design.

20th. Mr. Force brought back the part of my manuscript upon the brevet which I had given him, and showed me the pamphlet sent him by General Jackson, with the passionate and illiterate writing of his own upon a blank page of it.

21st. Mr. Crowninshield called, to say that his son Benjamin had been taken dangerously ill with a fever, at Salem, and he feared he should be obliged to go home. He spoke to me of the deportment that I should hold towards my successor, which I told him would depend upon his towards me. I should treat him with respect to his station, but should make no advance to conciliation with him, as I had never wronged him, but much the reverse; but he had slandered me. He spoke also of the new federal struggle in Massachusetts, and the prospects of its success.

29th. Mr. Vance, of the Military Committee of the House of Representatives, told me last evening that he should this day report a bill to abolish the office of Major-General and all brevets in time of peace. I asked General Macomb to call upon me to-morrow morning—that is, this day; and he came. I told him what General Vance had said to me, and advised him, if he had friends in Congress disposed to sustain him, to apprise them of the object of this movement. He said he had from motives of delicacy abstained from conversation with members of Congress, but that he would speak to his friend Governor Cass, who would see any members to whom it might be useful to give explanations.

Mr. Burnet, Senator from the State of Ohio, said he came to me on an unpleasant subject. He had a letter from Charles Hammond stating that Mr. Doddridge, of Virginia, had written to me that he (Mr. Burnet) had said that the elder Adams, by the appointment of John Marshall as Chief Justice, had entailed a curse upon the country, and that if I should have the opportunity to appoint Daniel Webster as Marshall's successor, it would be a still greater curse. He said there were not two men in the world for whom he had a greater veneration than for Chief-Justice Marshall and Mr. Webster.

I said Mr. Hammond had been misinformed. Mr. Doddridge, whom I scarcely knew, had written to me that he had heard Mr. Burnet had expressed disapprobation of the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States with reference to questions involving the State authorities. He had not named Mr. Webster.

Mr. Burnet said he had expressed the opinion that perhaps the decisions of the Supreme Court had sometimes encroached upon the State rights.

Day. My rising hour has ranged from four to quarter-past seven, the average being about half-past five, and the changes regulated by the time of my retirement to bed, which has varied from half-past ten to one A.M., which happened only once—the day of the last drawing-room. My usual time of retirement is half-past eleven; giving six hours to the bed. On rising, I light my lamp by the remnant of fire in the bedchamber, dress, and repair to my cabinet, where I make my fire, and sit down to writing till between nine and ten. After breakfast I read the morning National Intelligencer and Journal, and from eleven A.M. to four P.M. receive visitors, transact business with the heads of Departments, and send messages to one or both Houses of Congress. My riding on horseback has been interrupted almost the whole month by the weather and the snow and ice. From four, I walk an hour and a quarter, till half past five; dine, and pass one or two hours in the bedchamber or nursery; then write again in my cabinet, till the time for repose. This routine has now become so habitual to me that it forms part of the comfort of my existence, and I

look forward with great solicitude to the time when it must be totally changed. I never go abroad, unless to visit a sick friend. But a large dinner-party once a week, a drawing-room once a fortnight, occasional company of one, two, or three to dine with us in the family, and the daily visitors, eight or ten, sometimes twelve or fifteen, keep me in constant intercourse with the world, and furnish constant employment, the oppressiveness of which is much relieved by its variety. This is a happy condition of life, which within five weeks more must close. The prosperous condition of the country takes from the load of public care all its pain, and almost all its weariness.

February 5th. General Porter brought me the letter of General Scott which Major Nourse had mentioned. It is not a tender of his resignation, but a request for an informal permission to go to Richmond, and a declaration that it is his determined intention, if Congress do not by the 3d of March pass an Act to relieve him from his present situation, to tender his resignation of whatever rank he holds in the army of the United States.

6th. Mr. Lowrie, the Secretary of the Senate, brought a resolution of the Senate calling for a detailed statement of expenses of the South Sea expedition, and a detailed statement of the amount of transfers of appropriation for this object, and the authority by which they have been made. Mr. Clay was here, the first time since his illness. He said the ratification of the Prussian Government had arrived to the treaty signed by him and Mr. Niederstetter, but it had come five days after the time limited for the exchange of the ratifications. There was a question whether it must again be submitted to the Senate for their advice and consent to the exchange. The Prussian Government propose some additional articles, which, if they are of a nature to be agreed upon immediately, I thought might be concluded, and sent to the Senate all together. Mr. Clay wishes that a call may be made for the instructions to the Ministers of the Panama mission; to which I assented. Mr. Johnston, Senator from Louisiana, came to make some enquiries concerning the time of Judge Trimble's death. The Senate are debating upon the question whether they will act upon the

nomination of his successor, or any other of my nominations, during the present session. They will postpone all, or most of them.

7th. Mr. Clay mentioned the interview he has had with Mr. Niederstetter, the Prussian Chargé d'Affaires. His Government propose three additional articles to the treaty: to abolish privateering; to define blockades; and to amend the description of military stores in the list of contraband of the concluded treaty. We thought it most advisable to defer the negotiation till the next President shall enter upon his office.

11th. This day the votes for the election of President and Vice-President of the United States for four years from the 4th of March next were opened, and Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, declared President, and John C. Calhoun Vice-President. The President elect came into the city.

16th. Mr. Clay introduced to me in private audience Baron Krudener, the Russian Minister, who delivered to me a letter from the Emperor Nicholas announcing the death of the Empress-mother on the 24th October, 1828, O. S.—or the 5th of November. I assured the Baron of the interest with which the United States would sympathize in this afflictive dispensation of Providence to the Emperor and his family; and of the peculiar concern which I personally felt, from the opportunity I had enjoyed of witnessing her great and good qualities and of experiencing her kindness. The Baron was reciprocally obliging, and in terms of delicacy intimated his regret that the Administration was so near its close.

17th. General Van Rensselaer, his son, and Mr. and Mrs. Everett spent part of the evening, and supped with us. I am much occupied, and in the accumulated business at the close both of a session of Congress and of an Administration I am interrupted by a formidable and violent controversy. I have commenced the preparation of my reply to the appeal of the Boston confederates. I wrote this day to my brother, and to Thomas Jefferson Randolph, and sent to Jonathan Elliot sundry papers to be added to the republication of the Boston pamphlet —among them my letter to W. Plumer of 16th August, 1809, and his letter to me of 20th December last.

18th. Mr. Fendall, of the Department of State, brought me a manuscript Political Index, kept by himself, referring to the dates of controversial publications in the principal newspapers of the last three years, which he thought might be useful to me to consult. I had a long conversation with Mr. Fendall upon the pamphlet of the Boston confederates, and told him many circumstances of the times to which this controversy goes back.

Mr. Rush came in and broke off this conversation with business from the Treasury. I remitted a penalty and forfeiture on the petition of Lorenzo R. Wallace, and referred to my successor a claim of Alexander Anderson. I sent back to the Treasury many papers upon which I deemed it unnecessary to make any decision, and wish to postpone everything upon which immediate decision is not necessary.

Mr. Cooper came, and earnestly solicited the nomination of himself as a purser, and told me that young Mr. Donelson, General Jackson's nephew, who had been a class-mate of his at West Point, had promised him that if I should nominate him, and the Senate should not confirm the nomination, the General would renominate him after the 4th of March.

General Porter brought several accounts of William Clark and John Johnston, for claims of compensation for Indian Agencies. I shall pass them all over to my successor. He introduced to me his nephew. Commodore Patterson and Dr. Huntt came to invite my attendance next Monday at the Washington Birthnight ball. I thanked them for the invitation, and told them my attendance would depend upon circumstances.

Mr. Southard was here with a large file of papers from Captain Turner, of the Erie, concerning his capture of the Buenos Ayrean schooner Federal; also a letter of instruction to Commodore Ridgely, commanding the station at Pensacola, directing the judicial trial of the case. Mr. Sergeant and Mr. Quincy, the President elect of Harvard University, were here successively this evening. Sergeant enquired whether General Jackson had called upon me. I had some conversation with Mr. Quincy upon the Boston pamphlet. He spoke of Hamilton's posthumous paper.

21st. The Seneca Indian chief, Red Jacket, called upon me with his interpreter, Henry Johnson, to take leave of me and to ask some assistance for him to return home, for which I referred him to the Secretary of War. He has been exhibiting himself for some time past, upon theatres in several of our cities, for money. He carries with him a small silver-mounted emblematic tomahawk. He told me that he came to take leave of me, for that he and I were of the past age, and should soon be called for by the Great Spirit. I answered him that was true, and I hoped it would be to a better world than this.

22d. I asked Judge Story to call upon me at four o'clock. He came, and I asked him if I could consult him as a friend upon a subject of deep importance to me. He readily assented; and, as an evidence of the interest which he had long since taken in my character, he mentioned that in the winter of 1816–1817 he had earnestly advised Mr. Monroe to appoint me Secretary of State. I then related to him the present state of my controversy with the Boston confederates, and my intention to publish, in the course of the summer, a reply to their appeal. I said I wished to proceed in this matter with deliberation and advice. I had hitherto taken that of my friends here. Of this I should henceforth be deprived, and wished for that of a sober, judicious, and intelligent person at every step I shall take. He said he would very cheerfully comply with my request. He said he had read the additional papers in Elliot's republication of the pamphlet, and had been astonished at the strength of the evidence they contained in support of my charges. He regretted the necessity of these publications, and mentioned his friendly regard for some of the confederates.

23d. Mr. Ringgold, the Marshal, called this morning and offered to attend me this evening to the ball. I desired him to come in the course of the week, and, with Mr. Elgar, to take an inventory of the furniture in the house belonging to the public and to be delivered up; and to inform General Jackson that the house would be ready to receive him and his family by the 4th of next month. Mr. Bell, the Senator from New Hampshire, called, and had some conversation with me; but

we were interrupted. Mr. Clay said that Mr. Niederstetter had spoken to him about the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty with Prussia. I determined to leave it to my successor. It was a question whether the treaty should be re-submitted to the Senate for their advice and consent to the exchange of the ratifications, because the treaty arrived here with the Prussian ratification five days after the time limited for the exchange. I consider it a mere formality in the execution of the treaty, and not requiring any agency of the Senate. But, as Mr. Clay had some doubts, I preferred leaving the question to be decided by my successor.

24th. I desired Mr. Ringgold, the Marshal, yesterday, to inform General Jackson that the house would be ready to receive him on the 4th of March. He brought me for answer that the General cordially thanked me, and hoped I would put myself to no inconvenience to quit the house, but remain in it as long as I pleased, even for a month. Mr. Rush brought some accounts, with claims of individuals, to be decided; General Porter also. But I declined deciding henceforth any question involving a principle, considering myself as absolved from all responsibility, and referring everything importing it to my successor.

25th. President Jackson's Cabinet is arranged: Mr. Van Buren, Secretary of State; S. D. Ingham, Secretary of the Treasury; J. McLean, Postmaster-General; John H. Eaton, Secretary of War; John Branch, Secretary of the Navy; and John M. Berrien, Attorney-General.

26th. Mr. Clay spoke of his own purposes as unsettled, whether he should come to Congress or not. He is to have several public dinners as he goes home, and to make speeches.

27th. Mr. Ringgold called twice this morning—first, to enquire when the inventory should be taken of the furniture of this house to be delivered over, which I told him could not be done till after the 3d of March, all my servants being till then constantly occupied with the removal of my own. The second time, it was to say that General Jackson was desirous of receiving his visitors here after the inauguration on the 4th of March, if it would be perfectly convenient to me, but not

otherwise. I desired him to tell the General that the house should be ready to receive him.

28th. Mr. Hoffman had a long conversation with me, advising me to attend the inauguration next Wednesday, and afterwards to visit the President; which, I told him, I would consider. Mr. Jackson and Colonel Taylor were visitors. Colonel Bomford told me that he and Commodore Patterson had been deputed by the subscribers to the inauguration ball to invite my attendance; but he had called upon me to enquire if it would be agreeable to me to receive such invitation. I told him that under present circumstances it would be as agreeable to me not to receive it, as I should be obliged to decline it if I did.

Day. Much the same as last month. With the exception of two or three light colds, my health has been better than for several preceding years. I have recovered much of my bodily strength, and only find the difficulty of writing increase upon me. This is a source of deep concern to me, as all the usefulness and all the promise of comfort before me for my remnant of life will consist in the faculty of writing. But I must take the dispensations of Providence as they come—thankful to Heaven for the good, resigned and submissive to the severe. The month has been remarkable, as the last of my public service; and the preceding pages will show that the business of my office crowds upon me with accumulation as it draws near its end. Three days more, and I shall be restored to private life and left to an old age of retirement, though certainly not of repose. I go into it with a combination of parties and of public men against my character and reputation such as I believe never before was exhibited against any man since this Union existed. Posterity will scarcely believe it, but so it is, that this combination against me has been formed, and is now exulting in triumph over me, for the devotion of my life and of all the faculties of my soul to the Union, and to the improvement, physical, moral, and intellectual, of my country. The North assails me for my fidelity to the Union; the South, for my ardent aspirations of improvement. Yet "bate I not a jot of heart and hope." Passion, prejudice, envy, and jeal-

ousy will pass. The cause of Union and of improvement will remain, and I have duties to it and to my country yet to discharge.

On the 11th of this month Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, was declared to be elected President, and John C. Calhoun, Vice-President, of the United States for four years from the 4th of March next. On the same day the President elect arrived in this city, and took lodgings at Gadsby's Hotel. A self-constituted Central Committee, of persons pretending to be his exclusive friends and partisans, with John P. Van Ness at their head, undertook to usher him into the city, to order the firing of guns and manifestations of public rejoicing in his honor, and to assume the office of Masters of Ceremonies, to introduce to him all his visitors. They continued to exercise these functions till the public disgust became audible. They even published a regulation of the ceremony of his inauguration, and proclaimed Colonel Towson, the Paymaster-General, and one of their own number, Marshal for arranging the procession to the Capitol. This, however, has since been given up. The President elect, a few days since, sent for Colonel Towson and requested him to resign his office of Marshal for the Central Committee; which he did, and the Marshal of the District of Columbia is to have the ordering of the Commission, as has been customary heretofore. Mrs. Jackson having died in December, the General has signified his wish to avoid all displays of festivity or rejoicing, and all magnificent parade. He has not thought proper to hold any personal communication with me since his arrival. I sent him word by Marshal Ringgold that I should remove with my family from the house, so that he may, if he thinks proper, receive his visits of congratulation here on the 4th of March. He desired Ringgold to thank me for this information; spoke uncertainly whether he would come into the house on the 4th or not, but said if it would be in any manner inconvenient to my family to remove, he wished us not to hurry ourselves at all, but to stay in the house as long as it should suit our convenience, were it even a month. He has with him his nephew, Andrew Jackson Donelson, with his wife, a Miss Easten, an adopted son

named Jackson, and perhaps some others. His avoidance of me has been noticed in the newspapers. The Telegraph newspaper has assigned for the reason of this incivility that he knows I have been personally concerned in the publications against his wife in the National Journal. This is not true. I have not been privy to any publication in any newspaper against either himself or his wife. Within a few days another reason has been assigned. Mr. David Hoffman, of Baltimore, urged me to attend the inauguration, and said in that event he was informed it was General Jackson's intention to pay me a visit, his reason for not having done it before having been the chance there might have been of his meeting Mr. Clay with me. Mr. Ringgold says Mr. McLean, the Postmaster-General, told him that he had conversed with the General upon his abstaining from visiting me, and that the General had told him he came here with the intention of calling upon me, but had been dissuaded from it by his friends. Mrs. Adams went out to Meridian Hill on Thursday, and my son's wife this day. As I shall be constantly occupied with public business until and including the 3d of March, I shall not be able to leave this house until the evening of that day. The removal of my effects, and the preparation of the house for the reception of another family, have so much absorbed the time that it has been and will be impossible till after the 3d to take the inventory of the furniture belonging to the house to be delivered over. As the General had sent a courteous message desiring us not to hurry our removal, and had expressed himself very doubtful whether he should come in, I sent word to him by Mr. Ringgold that it might take two or three days beyond the 3d before the inventory could be taken. He sent for answer that he wished not to put us to the slightest inconvenience, but that Mr. Calhoun had suggested that there might be danger of the excessive crowds breaking down the rooms at Gadsby's House, and the General had concluded, if it would be perfectly convenient to us, to receive his company at the President's house after the inauguration on Wednesday next. I have therefore concluded at all events to leave the house on Tuesday. Michael Anthony Giusta, the

man whom I engaged in my service at Amsterdam, in June, 1814, and who has lived with me ever since, and his wife, have both been engaged by the General to remain in the house and in the same capacity which they now hold. This separation from domestics who have so long lived in the family is among the painful incidents of the present time.

March 2d. At seven in the evening I went with my son John and T. B. Adams, Jr., to the Capitol. Mr. Clay, Mr. Rush, and General Porter were there. I signed in the course of the evening about thirty bills. Several of the members of both houses of Congress came and took leave. I returned to the President's house.

3d. Close of the Twentieth Congress, and of my public life. General Porter brought me the papers relating to a claim of Captain Campbell's company of Ohio Volunteers in the year 1812. I wrote a decision that they should be allowed pay for twelve months, at the foot of Mr. Whittlesey's letter. Mr. Johnston, the Indian Agent, came for a decision upon the sale of an Indian reservation; but I was compelled to decline it. He said he should be removed, for there were at least four here after his place.

Mr. Clay brought me his resignation of the office of Secretary of State, on which I wrote my acceptance, and he took it to be deposited at the Department of State. Mr. Graham called to take leave. Daniel Parker, with a great budget of papers, to explain to me his claims and convince me of the error of my opinion given to P. Hagner. But I referred him to my successor. Mr. Rush took the resignation of W. Jones, Collector at Philadelphia—accepted. I gave in charge to Mr. Brent the papers of the Department of State which had yet remained in my possession. Fendall brought me two orders of pardon, which I signed. Mr. De Graff, member of the House from New York, came to take leave, and to introduce to me Mr. Curtis and two Webbs, of Albany. Gales came for a list of the laws passed at this session.

About noon I rode with my son John and T. B. Adams, Jr., to the Capitol, and sent to both Houses of Congress message No. 8 with the Panama instructions. I signed fifteen bills, and

between two and three o'clock a joint committee, S. Smith and Burnet, of the Senate, Ward and Bates, of Massachusetts, announced to me that the Houses were ready to adjourn. I told them that I had no further communication to make to the Houses, and wished every individual member health and happiness. I walked back to the President's house. Concluded the contract with Persico. Consulted the members of the Administration whether I should attend the inauguration tomorrow. All were against it except Mr. Rush. About nine in the evening I left the President's house, and, with my son John and T. B. Adams, Jr., came out and joined my family at Meridian Hill. Dined. Received and accepted the resignations of R. Rush, P. B. Porter, E. L. Southard, and W. Wirt.

CHAPTER XV.

THE LAST TWO YEARS OF LEISURE.

March 4th, 1829.—This day Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, was inaugurated as President of the United States. I had caused a notification to be published in the National Intelligencer, and Journal, requesting the citizens of the District and others, my friends, who might be disposed to visit me, according to the usage heretofore, to dispense with that formality. Very few, therefore, came out. Mr. Williams, of North Carolina, and Mr. Bartlett, of New Hampshire, came with Mr. Gales, who brought the inaugural address of the President. It is short, written with some eloquence, and remarkable chiefly for a significant threat of reform. Dr. Huntt was here, and Lloyd Rodgers, with Charles Carroll, a grandson of the patriarch of that name. Colonel Mercer came with Miss Hay and R. Peters. Sergeant, Silsbee, Crowninshield, Chambers, and Blake came together, and Dr. Watkins rode out alone. The day was warm and spring-like, and I rode on my horse, with Watkins, into the city, and thence through F Street to the Rockville Turnpike, and over that till I came to the turn of the road, by which I returned, over College Hill, back to the house. Near the post-office I was overtaken by a man named Dulaney, who first inquired whether I could inform him how he could see John Quincy Adams, and when I gave him my name told me his, and that he came from Waterford, in Virginia, and was charged to ask of me a return of papers sent to me last summer and relating to the post-office at that place. He came with me to my house, and I gave him the papers, which he took away. I resumed drowsily this evening the writing of my reply to the appeal of the confederates.

I can yet scarcely realize my situation. Hitherto I have

prayed for direction from above in concerns of my country and of mankind. I need it not less, and pray for it with equal fervor, now, for those of myself, my family, and of all whose dependence is upon me. From indolence and despondency and indiscretion may I specially be preserved!

5th. Confined to the house the whole day by a steady rain, attended in the afternoon and evening by a heavy gale. Dr. Reynolds came out this morning with Lieutenant Slidell, of the navy, to lament with me the loss in the Senate of the bill for the scientific expedition to the South Seas. Reynolds said he had been assured that at the next session of Congress the project would be resumed, and even recommended by the President. The opposition to it has been altogether factious. The bill passed the House of Representatives by a large majority, and almost without opposition. It was defeated in the Senate by Robert Y. Hayne, of South Carolina, Chairman of the Naval Committee, and Littleton W. Tazewell, of Virginia, both men of some talents, but whose sense of justice, of patriotism, and of truth is swallowed up by the passions of party, combining in both, with overbearing arrogance, rancorous tempers, and, in Tazewell, with a never-dying personal hatred of me, because I once told him at my own table, upon his pertinaciously insisting that Tokay and Rhenish wine were much alike in taste, that I did not believe he had ever drunk a drop of Tokay in his life. He had provoked this retort by saying a few minutes before that he had never known a Unitarian who did not believe in the sea-serpent. As, however, it was at my own table, I made him, some months afterwards, through Dr. Watkins, an apology for the rudeness of my speech, which he accepted; but the shaft was sped barbed with truth, and it will rankle in his side till his dying hour. Mr. Vaughan, the British Minister, also paid me a visit this morning. I occupied the day and evening in writing upon my reply to the appeal of the confederates. My time is now all leisure, like an instantaneous flat calm in the midst of a hurricane. I cannot yet settle my mind to a regular course of future employment.

6th. Mr. Jones and Mr. Prentiss came to invite me to a social dinner to be given to Mr. Clay by his friends before his depart-

ure. I desired them to thank the subscribers to the dinner for their obliging invitation, and request them to accept my excuses, as it was my intention to bury myself in complete retirement, as much so as a nun taking the veil. Mr. Dunham was an applicant for the appointment of warden of the penitentiary, and came to ask the return of his recommendatory certificates, which he had brought about two years since. Mr. and Mrs. Everett made us a morning visit, as did Barons Krudener and Stackelberg, Mr. and Mrs. Ouseley, Mrs. Bankhead, Mrs. J. S. Johnston, Mrs. Dickinson, Mr. Campino, the Chilian Minister, with Mr. Velez, his Secretary, and another translator, the Chilians speaking nothing but Spanish, and lastly the Commandeur Torlade d'Azambuja, Conseiller et Gentilhomme, Officier de la Cour de S. M. très-fidèle, the unacknowledged Minister of the Portuguese King or usurper, Don Miguel. He told me he had taken the first moment when it was in his power. After this current of visitors had subsided, I walked into the city, where I called upon Mr. Southard. Found him convalescent, and packing up for his departure. He first informed me that Mr. John McLean, the Postmaster-General, was nominated a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States—a totally new arrangement, made within the last two days—and Mr. Barry, of Kentucky, Postmaster-General. Martin Van Buren, of New York, was also this day nominated and appointed Secretary of State, and Samuel D. Ingham, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of (the Treasury). I received this evening a letter from James A. Hamilton, delivered with a card by R. Bunner.

7th. Mr. Wright and Mr. Sloane, both members of the House of Representatives from Ohio, paid me a morning visit. They were both friends and supporters of the late Administration, and both have lost their elections to the present Congress. Wright is one of the severest and keenest debaters that ever sat in the House of Representatives, and Sloane has been an efficient member in exposing the butchery of the six militiamen and the prevarication of Andrew Stevenson, the Speaker of the House. I told them I hoped to see them both again in the House. General and Mrs. Porter and Miss Morris came to take leave. The General is about returning to his residence

at Black Rock. Mr. Ward told me that he proposed making a settlement in one of the Western States, and asked my advice which of them he should select. I told him I was scarcely competent to advise, but I should think that Indiana or Illinois would afford the most favorable situations for a young man. Most of the remaining members of the Corps Diplomatique paid morning visits. Madame Huygens is just convalescent from a long sickness. Colonel Gratiot was with General Porter. The Spanish Minister, the Chevalier de Tacon, came within a few days from Philadelphia. Mr. Wilde and Mrs. White came together. Before dinner I rode round by the college, the race-ground, and the Rockville Turnpike, and the post-office. I had written last evening, and sent this morning by my son John, an answer to the letter received yesterday from Mr. James A. Hamilton. This man is Aide-de-Camp to Governor Van Buren, and has taken charge of the Department of State ad interim, till he comes, by a written order from President Jackson; and he took the first day of his instalment at the Department of State to write me this letter.

8th. After the morning service I walked to Mr. Southard's, and found him still convalescent. He is packing up, and going first to spend some time with his wife's brother at Fredericksburg, Virginia. Dr. Watkins came in with a coarse epigram from the Richmond Whig upon the new Cabinet. From Mr. Southard's I walked home. Met Mr. and Mrs. Clay and young Mr. Claiborne, Mr. and Madame Durant Saint-André, and Mr. Daniel Brent, returning from visits to us. Mr. Sergeant and Mr. Everett dined with us. I wrote last night and this morning a letter to my son Charles, and this evening I received a letter from Robert Lee, Jeremiah C. Garthwaite, and John Shotwell, a committee in behalf of a numerous meeting of the citizens of Essex and Middlesex, in New Jersey, containing a kind and friendly address, dated on the 4th of March, the day after my official duties had ceased. There was a letter enclosed for Mr. Clay, and one for Mr. Southard. I commenced a letter in answer to the committee.

9th. My old servant Antoine came out this morning and took leave of me. I settled with him his last account for expenses

at the President's house. He and his wife remain in the service of President Jackson. I took him at Amsterdam, in June, 1814, as a valet. Since my return to this country he has acted as my steward and butler. His wife entered our service at Ealing, in 1815, as a girl; came to America with us; lived with us while I was Secretary of State, as cook; and while we were in the President's house, as assistant housekeeper. They married in 1819, and have no children. I could not afford to continue to them the wages I have given them the last four years, and saw no reason for opposing or resenting their remaining in the house in the same capacities which they had held while I was there. I gave them a certificate of excellent character, which they well deserved, and President Jackson has retained them in his service. He told me that he had thought it necessary to tell the President's nephew, Donelson, that he was coming here, but that it was for the last time, as it had been represented to the President that he was a spy of mine; but that Mr. Donelson had told him he might come here as often as he pleased. Mr. Rush was here, and I read to him my draft of an answer to the committee of the Essex and Middlesex meeting, in New Jersey. He proposed some alterations; to which I assented.

10th. Judge Cranch was here, and I read to him several pages of my proposed reply to the confederates. He thought them too bold and passionate, but he was clearly of opinion that all the facts ought to be disclosed. How to write upon such subjects without indulgence of feeling is incomprehensible. "Si vis me flere, dolendum est primùm ipsi tibi," was the rule of antiquity. But in controversy this rule must be reversed.

Mr. Sprague, Senator from Maine, and Mr. Bartlett, late member of the House from New Hampshire, called to take leave; also Josiah S. Johnston, Senator from Louisiana, who says he pairs off the day after to-morrow with R. Y. Hayne, of South Carolina. The Cabinet is now complete: John H. Eaton, of Tennessee, Secretary of War; John Branch, of North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy; and John M. Berrien, of Georgia, Attorney-General; Barry, of Kentucky, Postmaster-General. McLean is made a Judge of the Supreme Court to set him

aside. He declined serving as the broom to sweep the post-offices. Johnston says they will now publish the Panama Mission Instructions.

11th. I received a letter from Mr. James A. Hamilton, Acting Secretary of State, mentioning that he had received the direction of the President to see me upon public business, and asking me to fix a time when he might call on me. I answered him, fixing from one to three o'clock. He came between two and three. He said Mr. Clay, in a conversation with him, had informed him that there were certain public stocks and documents in my possession which I intended to transfer to the President. He had mentioned this to the President, who had then directed him to ask this interview with me. I showed him the certificates of stock, three per cents., standing in the name of the President of the United States, in trust for the Seneca Indians; told him of those in the name of W. Eustis, Secretary of War, and his successors, for the Wyandot annuity; and gave him a list of the whole, with the assurance that I would deliver them to the order of the President. I showed him also the book containing the secret correspondence of the negotiation for a treaty with the Ottoman Porte, still pending, of which I gave him a summary history; told him I had intended to give it personally to the President, and now proposed to give it to the Secretary of State upon his arrival, but would deliver the book upon the order of the President. He spoke to me also of my letter to him concerning his father, with which he appeared to be satisfied. Said his father had published an article in Coleman's paper in favor of the Louisiana purchase, and that there was a letter from his father to George Cabot very earnestly urging against the disunion project of 1804. Nota bene.

12th. Mr. Clay came out this morning and took leave of us. He goes with his family by the way of Baltimore, to-morrow. Last Saturday his friends, and those of the Administration, gave him a dinner, at which he made a speech. He told me some time since that he had received invitations at several places on his way to Lexington to public dinners, and should attend them, and that he intended freely to express his opinions.

I mentioned to him the letter from Rahway, New Jersey, and the answer I had given to it. He expressed himself much gratified with what I told him I had said in it of him, and told me he had written a very short answer to the letter which he had received. He manifested some sensibility at parting, and expressed a wish occasionally to hear from me. While he was here, Mr. Law and Mr. T. L. Thruston came in, but stayed only a few minutes. Law complimented Mr. Clay on his speech at the dinner, and said he should never see him again, as he was going to Europe. He looks as if he would very shortly go to another world; and so does George Blake, who came out to take leave, being about to return to Boston. He says that as the Senate did not act on my nomination of him for re-appointment as U. S. District Attorney in Massachusetts immediately after the 4th, he requested President Jackson not to consider him as a candidate. Andrew Dunlap is appointed to that office. Blake was much diverted at the appointment of Francis Baylies as Collector of New Bedford, in the place of Russell Freeman. Baylies voted for Jackson four years since in the House, and expected a foreign mission. Blake says that a few days before he left Boston Jonathan Russell dined with him, and was in high expectation of the mission to France or England, but that he is a broken-down man, and has had two or three paralytic shocks.

13th. The day was uninterrupted by visitors, and from an oppressive burden of business I find myself transferred to a season of total leisure, though with private concerns which ought already to occupy me with constant employment, but upon which I cannot yet prevail upon myself to engage. I have yet numerous letters to answer, and my reply to the Boston confederates seems lengthening as I go. Before dinner I rode round by the race-ground and Capitol Hill into the city. In the Pennsylvania Avenue I passed by Mr. Clay in his carriage, on his way to Baltimore, and a last salutation passed between us. I stopped at Mr. Southard's house. His nephew told me that he was this day a little better, but still confined with fever to his bed, and not able to see me. I then called upon Mr. Rush, who told me that he had this day

received the answer of Alexander Baring to the enquiries addressed to him the last autumn, concerning the negotiation of a loan for the Corporation of the city and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company. The answer is rather encouraging, and the Corporation have it in contemplation to employ Mr. Rush himself to go to England as an agent to negotiate this loan. He says that C. F. Mercer, the President of the Canal Company, told him that he was afraid, from something that had fallen from General Jackson, that his disposition was averse to the canal; which, if true, will not promote his popularity here. His appointments continue to contrast with his speech to the Tennessee Legislature two years since. He then said that if members of Congress continued to receive appointments to office, corruption would be the order of the day. He has already appointed nearly as many members of Congress as I did in four years. The last are John Chandler, ex-Senator from Maine, appointed Collector at Portland, and Thomas P. Moore, member of the House from Kentucky, Minister Plenipotentiary to the republic of Colombia, in the place of W. H. Harrison, superseded; an appointment carrying with it the useless waste of a fresh outfit—Harrison having been appointed only last spring, and having scarcely yet reached the place of his destination. Moore's character and talents are inferior to those of Harrison; his integrity is problematical, and his only public service, the servility of his prostitution to the cause of Jackson's election and the baseness of his slanders upon me.

14th. I had visits from General Bernard and Captain Poussin, from Mr. Hawley, the rector of St. John's Church, and from Judge McLean, late Postmaster-General, now of the Supreme Court, with Mr. George Graham. I told the Judge that as the Senate had not thought proper to confirm the nomination of J. J. Crittenden, made by me, I was much rejoiced at hearing of his appointment. He said it had not been agreeable to himself—which is well known. He was removed from the Post Office because he refused to be made the instrument of that sweeping proscription of postmasters which is to be one of the samples of the promised reform. He spoke of the appointment

of T. P. Moore as Minister Plenipotentiary to Colombia as a remarkable instance of economy.

I walked before dinner to Mr. Southard's. Found him again convalescent. He told me some anecdotes of the manner in which the new Administration is commencing its operations, and which portend no good. To feed the cormorant appetite for place, and to reward the prostitution of canvassing defamers, are the only principles yet discernible in the conduct of the President, and indecision and instability are already strongly marked in his movements. He dropped from my naval nominations Stockton and McKeever, for masters-commandant—then, at the remonstrance of McKeever, sent them in by themselves. The Senate rejected them, and this morning he sent them in again. On returning home, I found that Messrs. Bell, Burnet, Foote, Holmes, and Robbins, of the Senate, had called to take leave. Holmes and Foote left copies of their speeches on the nomination of J. J. Crittenden. I answered the letter received from the committee of citizens of Steubenville, Ohio.

15th. General S. Smith, Senator from Maryland, and now President pro tempore of the Senate, called and thanked me for what I had done in behalf of C. Hughes. He said he had told Berrien, the Senator from Georgia, and now Attorney-General, that he could get a vote of the Senate to confirm the nomination of Hughes, and Berrien told him if he did, that Hughes should and would be recalled. He complained that notwithstanding this they had confirmed the nomination of Judge Hopkinson, and said that it was all a dupery. He also said that two years ago I had told him I would nominate Hughes if Congress would make the appropriation. But Mr. Clay had told Louis McLane, then Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, who would have proposed the appropriation, that if it should be made Hughes would not be nominated. The General read me part of a letter from Hughes, written since I nominated him, and pleading very urgently for the confirmation; but Smith said Hughes had not been, and would not be, renominated by President Jackson.

Mr. J. Sergeant and Mr. P. R. Fendall dined with us. Fen-

dall came half an hour before dinner, and we conversed upon his design to publish the history of my Administration. He told me that Webster had said to him that if in his preliminary chapter he should bear hard upon the federalists, he (Webster) should have to review him. Fendall asked me to give him some minutes respecting the history of parties in the United States—which I promised him I would. I lent him some of the additional sheets of my manuscript.

16th. I wrote to W. Plumer, proceeded with my reply to the confederates, and finished reading the first Philippic of Cicero; I had already read the second. I want a History of Rome, or Middleton's Life of Cicero, for the chronology of cotemporaneous events. But I have Langhorne's Plutarch, in which, upon consulting this evening the lives of Cicero and Mark Antony, I found much of the necessary information. The first Philippic contains the exposition by Cicero to the Senate of his motives for withdrawing from Rome after the death of Cæsar, with the purpose of going to Athens, where his son then was, and staying there till the next January, when the Consuls elect, Hirtius and Pansa, were to enter upon office; and for afterwards, while on his way, altering his purpose and returning to Rome. He had not attended a meeting of the Senate the day after his arrival, at which Antony was so incensed that he had threatened in open Senate to send men to destroy his house. The next day Cicero did attend, and delivered the first Philippic, 2d September, 709; Antony not being present, though the other Consul, Dolabella, was. The tone of the whole oration is moderate, expostulating gently against the lawless acts which Antony was committing, and particularly at his giving out as manuscript acts of Cæsar his own violent and tyrannical deeds. It complains of the surrounding of the Senate by armed men, and of Antony's threats of the preceding day. It approves the confirmation of Cæsar's acts, and urges the restoration of the republic. The composition is admirable, and the closing direct address to the two Consuls, Dolabella present, and Antony absent, full of spirit and patriotism.

17th. I began reading the third Philippic of Cicero, and consulted in Plutarch the lives of Cicero, of Antony, and of Brutus

for the cotemporary facts. Looked likewise into Shakspeare's "Antony and Cleopatra." There is something strange, and which would now be thought very affected, in the language of Shakspeare, whose most common thoughts are expressed in uncommon words.

18th. A cold and blustering day. Mr. Fendall came out, and brought back the part of my manuscript that I had lent him. He made a few judicious remarks, particularly advising me to leave out passages unnecessary to the controversy and tending to multiply antagonists. This, I told him, was excellent advice, and I would avail myself of it. But how far must this be carried? The disunion project of 1804 cannot be fully exposed without developing the causes of dissatisfaction with Mr. Jefferson's Administration, by which it was instigated. Most of these were well founded. I felt them deeply myself, and now, on reviewing them, I think of them as I did in 1804. Shall I tell them? If I do, there is another hornets'-nest that I shall disturb, and more controversy to be foreseen. If I leave it even for publication after my death, my children will be made to feel the resentments that it will kindle. They are feeling now the effects of those which have been stirred. Selfish motives admonish me to silence. On the other hand, a great moral lesson to my country may be taught by exposing the errors both of those federalists who conspired against the integrity of the Union, and of Mr. Jefferson himself, and of his Administration. My present course is to write with the boldness of truth. I shall prune by the counsels of prudence. Mr. Gales sent me a newspaper containing a very curious letter of J. Rutsen Van Rensselaer, relating a conversation of A. Hamilton in September, 1800. The object of the letter is to rescue Hamilton's reputation from having participated in the disunion project of 1804. But it rivets upon him the passion for being at the head of an army, and his presentiment that he should be killed by Burr.

The Senate adjourned yesterday without day.

19th. There was a fall of snow that entirely covered the ground. It confined me all day to the house. I walked an hour in the porch before dinner. Mr. Rebello, the Chargé

d'Affaires from Brazil, came out with Mr. Lisboa and Mr. Barroso Pereira. Mr. Rebello told me that he had yesterday exchanged the ratifications of the Brazilian Treaty with Mr. James A. Hamilton. He also told me that he expected to sail next month for Rio de Janeiro, to receive his instructions for the mission to the republic of Colombia, to which he has been appointed. He said a successor to him at this place has been appointed—a Mr. Ribeiro, who might shortly be expected. Mr. Seymour, Senator from Vermont, came to take leave; said he expected to go for home to-morrow. His wife has been ill with a fever. He gave me some account of the proceedings of the Senate, which sat thirteen days merely to confirm appointments and pass upon the Brazilian Treaty. They restored the Panama instructions from the Executive to the Legislative journal, but refused to print them. Seymour says there is already a great bitterness between the partisans of Van Buren and those of Calhoun. Yesterday, the day after the adjournment of the Senate, William Lee, Second Auditor, Tobias Watkins, Fourth Auditor, and Richard Cutts, Second Comptroller of the Treasury, were removed from office, and Amos Kendall, a Major Lewis, who came with the President from Tennessee, and Isaac Hill, of New Hampshire, are appointed in their places.

I finished my letter to R. Walsh, Jr., and wrote short letters to Dr. Kirkland and to C. Hughes, Jr., and finished reading the third Philippic of Cicero. Two of Antony's legions had deserted him, and Octavius Cæsar was in arms against him, as was Decimus Brutus. This is an oration of invective upon Antony, and of panegyric upon Octavius, Decimus Brutus, and the two legions which had gone over against Antony. There is too much encomium upon Octavius, who finally betrayed him and his country to Antony. But it is admirable to see these struggles for liberty.

20th. Chief-Justice Marshall, Judge Story, R. Peters, the reporter of the decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court, and Marshal Ringgold, called to visit me. The session of the Court was closed this morning. I walked to the city and back before dinner. The snow that fell yesterday chiefly disappeared this day, and left the walking very bad. I read the fourth Philippic

of Cicero—a short address to the people, on the same subject with the preceding oration to the Senate. There is one beautiful passage in section 5: "Death is by nature the lot of all; but nature revolts at cruelty and disgrace in death. This is the peculiar property of the Roman name and race. Retain it, Romans, I beseech you, as the inheritance left you by your ancestors. All else is uncertain, perishable, transitory. Virtue alone strikes her roots to the centre; she never can be overthrown—never can be shaken." This was Roman doctrine, but it had survived the practice of the Roman people. Plutarch says that Brutus severely censured Cicero for his excessive praises of Octavius, and for trusting him. It is not easy to see what else he could have done. Nothing but armies could decide the fate of Rome; and Octavius had an army. It is lamentable to see the liberties of a republic sustained by such eloquence as that of Cicero bought and sold by a boy like Octavius and a profligate like Antony.

21st. I received last evening a note from James A. Hamilton saying he had an order from the President to receive from me the secret record-book of the negotiation with the Porte, and the certificates of stocks held in trust for the Seneca and Wyandot Indians. I fixed this day, from twelve to two o'clock, to receive him. He came with a letter from the President to him, directing him to receive the book and the certificates. I delivered them to him, taking his receipt at the bottom of the President's letter. I gave him also the original letters of Commodore Rodgers while he was charged with the negotiation. I asked Mr. Hamilton some questions relating to his father, resulting from my last conversation with him. He told me it was Mr. Tazewell who suggested to him the idea that it was by a letter from Hamilton's father to Mr. Madison that Mr. Jefferson's scruples as to the constitutional power of Congress to annex Louisiana to the Union were quieted; because Mr. Hamilton had been in correspondence with Mr. Madison. And he said he had asked Mr. Rives to ascertain the fact from Mr. Madison. I asked him further about the letter which he had told me there was from his father to Mr. Cabot against the disunion project of 1804; and what was its date? He said he

believed he had been mistaken about that letter; that it was a letter from Mr. Oliver Wolcott giving his father's views on the subject. He read me one line from a letter he had this day received from his brother John, saying that a statement had been received from Mr. Oliver Wolcott, refuting the charge in Mr. Plumer's letter.

Mr. Webster called also, to take leave. I told him that in the publication in the National Intelligencer of 21st October last I had not the most distant reference to him; and he said that he had no feeling of dissatisfaction from it regarding me. But he spoke with great bitterness of H. G. Otis and of W. Plumer, and with much regret at the effect produced by my publication, which he thought would lead to a coalition between the Hartford Conventionists and General Jackson.

23d. I rode my horse to the Capitol Hill and back before dinner; suffered much with the cold. In my conversation with Mr. Webster on Saturday he said that he was in the winter of 1803 and 4 reading law in the office of Thomas W. Thompson, and then read several letters from W. Plumer to him, very violent against Mr. Jefferson, and full of all sorts of wild projects; that Plumer was a very weak man, without any steadiness of principle or solidity of judgment. I saw from this the soreness of Mr. Webster's feelings. His character of Mr. Plumer is altogether incorrect. His feelings with regard to Otis are not more favorable. He described him as a man altogether selfish, without principle, and of very slender abilities; though he admitted that he had a certain kind of talent. He said that his great object was to tack the Hartford Convention upon the whole federal party, so that he might make them all responsible for his own acts. He added that he had no communion whatever with those who had subscribed the confederate letter to me. In the National Journal of this day there is republished from the New York Evening Post James A. Hamilton's letter of the 6th instant to me, and my answer. It is preceded in the Journal by an extract from a speech of De Witt Clinton, made in the Senate of New York, 31st January, 1809, asserting, almost in the same terms as I have used, the projected dismemberment of the Union in 1804, the proposition to Gen-

eral Hamilton to take a part in it, and his refusal of that proposal. I finished my letter to Charles, and resumed in the evening the manuscript of my answer to the confederate appeal. This paper and the letters I still have to write leave me as yet scarcely time for reading more than half an hour a day in the Philippics. I am upon the fifth.

24th. I finished reading this day the fifth Philippic. Antony was besieging Decimus Brutus in Mutina. Cicero was urgent with the Senate to declare him a public enemy. Others proposed to send a deputation to him forbidding him to continue the siege, and commanding him to submit to the lawful authority. Cicero argues against this movement as feeble and dallying. Single moments, says he, turn the tide of affairs in all great emergencies of the republic, especially in war, and most of all in civil conflicts (10). "Omne malum nascens facile opprimitur, inveteratum fit plenumque robustius." He proposes honorary decrees to Decimus Brutus, to Lepidus, to Octavius Cæsar, on whom he proposes to confer immediately the rank of Proprætor, to Lucius Egnatuleius, commander of the Fourth Legion, which had abandoned Antony, and to the Martian Legion, which had done the same. The argument for giving Prætorian rank to Octavius Cæsar is consciously feeble—the praise of him excessive—and it is not surprising that it was blamed by Marcus Brutus. From a man of Cicero's age and standing to a youth scarce out of boyhood, it was ominous of the catastrophe which soon followed. The boy betrayed him and enslaved his country.

25th. I walked into the city and round the Square before dinner. And I recommenced novel-reader, beginning with Pelham. But although totally relieved from all public business, and having absolutely nothing to do, I find occupations pressing upon me almost as much as when the cares of the nation were upon my hands. My correspondence is not yet cleared off, and my reply to the appeal of the confederates creeps on with pace of snail. I received last evening a letter from O. W. Treadwell, at Baltimore, mentioning that he had received a long communication from my anonymous correspondent, with discretionary power of transmitting it to me,

and afterwards a counter-order, directing all the papers to be destroyed. He says he has not done it, hoping that the writer may yet allow the manuscript to be communicated to me. I replied to Mr. Treadwell this evening.

Read the sixth Philippic of Cicero—a short oration to the people, exposing to them what had been done in the Senate, and expressing his disapprobation of the measure of sending a deputation to Mark Antony, and foretelling that Antony will pay no regard to it. His great objection to it is the delay it must occasion, postponing measures of war. "Nam cum plerisque in rebus gerendis, tarditas et procrastinatio odiosa est; tum hoc bellum indiget celeritatis." The sentiment with which he closes was flattering to his auditory, but it was half a century too late: "Populum Romanum servire, non fas est; quem Dii immortales omnibus gentibus imperare voluerunt. . . . Aliæ nationes servitutem pati possunt; populi Romani res est propria Libertas." It had been so, but was so no longer.

26th. Mr. Persico came, and took a sitting of three hours, but during the greater part of which time I was reading the first volume of Pelham, or the Adventures of a Gentleman. The most prolific school of literature at present is novel-writing. The marvellous of character and manners is substituted in the place of the marvellous in narrative. Pelham, the Gentleman, is a compound of dandy, statesman, and philosopher, epicurean, coxcomb, duellist, courtier, patriot, satirist, demagogue, and political Vicar of Bray; who begins by presenting his father and mother as odious and ridiculous characters, and speaks of his own vices, and what he means to pass off for good deeds, with equal indifference. The book is, nevertheless, interesting, and abounds with keen observations and ingenious reflections.

Before dinner, I rode to the Capitol Hill; and at the house where Congress held their session before they returned to the Capitol I saw Persico's busts of Thomas Law and Charles F. Mercer, both finely executed, and excellent likenesses. After returning, and in the evening, I read the seventh Philippic of Cicero, addressed to the Senate. There were subjects of debate proposed by the Consul Pansa and the Tribunes of the people. But Cicero says they are small concerns, though per-

haps necessary; and digresses from them immediately to the war which he wishes to be declared against Antony. He censures the measure which had been adopted against his advice, of sending to him a deputation; calls it weak and dilatory, and very confidently foretells that it will be treated by Antony with contempt and disobedience. After an exordium, in which he expatiates upon his own interest in the preservation of peace, he declares himself against peace with Antony as—1. dishonorable; 2, dangerous; 3, impracticable. The oration consists of a discussion of those three topics. "Periculum etsi minus est fugiendum quam turpitudo; tamen offendit animos majoris partis hominum magis." He promises that he will not be backward, but give them all the aid in his power. "Tamen etiam summi gubernatores, in magnis tempestatibus a vectoribus admoneri solent."

27th. I read six sections of the eighth Philippic of Cicero, which, next to the second, pleases me the most, both for composition and sentiment, of any of this series that I have yet read.

I proceed with my reply to the appeal of the confederates, and have come to a period which requires to be treated with great delicacy—the session of Congress at which the Embargo was adopted. There are two difficulties attending it: one, to give an *impartial* account of the Embargo, and of the motives for it and of the opposition against it; the other, to make the narrative interesting at this day. Mr. Fendall has sent me a set of the U. S. laws and of the journals of the Senate. I read over this morning the whole journal of the session of 1807 and 1808, the last at which I held a seat in the Senate, and one of the most important periods of my life. I read over also my own diary during the same period; observe the feelings which agitated and distressed me at the time, and take satisfaction and comfort in the review. I find little to censure in what I did; nothing in what I intended. The Embargo and the case of John Smith, of Ohio, were the prominent objects of the session. Giles's Treason bill and Rose's negotiation and its rupture were of the same period.

28th. I finished reading the eighth Philippic. It is a general

complaint against the feebleness of the proceedings against Antony—the hesitation at declaring *war* against him. The first deputation to him had failed. Servius Sulpicius, the first of the deputies, had died before reaching his camp. The two others had returned with a very unsatisfactory answer, and he continued to besiege Decimus Brutus in Mutina. There was even a proposal for sending a second deputation to him. Cicero very severely, though with a subdued temper, rebukes this imbecility—marks the absurdity of an attempt to distinguish between a *tumult* and a *war*. Lucius Cæsar had prefaced a pusillanimous opinion by excusing himself as Antony's uncle. Cicero asks the Senators if they are all uncles. His principal argument, however, is against Quintus Fufius Calenus, whom he calls his friend—who had counselled ignoble ease under a general commendation of peace. To this Cicero replies with great force, and also to the charge of showing anger in his discussions. There is an admirable passage contrasting the objects for which they are contending with those of Antony—liberty on one side, robbery on the other. There is a sentence almost word for word the same with one of Jesus Christ in the New Testament: "In corpore, si quid ejusmodi est, quod reliquo corpori noceat, uri secarique patimur, ut membrorum aliquod, potius quam totum corpus, intereat—sic in reipublicæ corpore, ut totum salvum sit, quidquid est pestiferum amputetur."

29th. I read the ninth Philippic, which has a peculiar interest from a variety of discussion introduced in it. Servius Sulpicius, the first of the three deputies sent by the Senate to Mark Antony, had died of sickness on the way to Antony's encampment. The Consul Pansa referred to the Senate the question of the honors to be paid to his memory, and Publius Servilius had proposed a sepulchral monument. Cicero proposes the addition of a statue of bronze. The practice had been to vote statues only in cases where the delegate had been killed; and Cicero cites a number of such cases from the Roman history, to which he always refers with a minuteness of memory as if it were to the incidents of his own life. He pronounces a splendid panegyric upon Sulpicius, mentions some interesting incidents of his illness and death, and intersperses the discourse

with philosophical reflections upon the honor conferred by the voting of monuments and statues. He recommends a pedestrian statue of brass, rather than an equestrian, gilt. There is a fine moral reflection upon the comparative value of the monument and statue in section 5, and an energetic thought in the remark, "The life of the dead consists in the memory of the living." "Vita enim mortuorum in memoriâ vivorum est posita."

30th. Persico came, and finished the model in clay for my bust. I gave him a sitting of about two hours. He has taken infinite pains to finish it, and has labored upon it with the enthusiasm of an Italian artist. He has also the feeling of gratitude for the aid and encouragement I gave him by employing him and furnishing him the design for the pediment of the Capitol, which he has executed to universal satisfaction, and for the subsequent contract which he has obtained for two colossal statues, emblematical of Peace and War, which was authorized by an Act of Congress passed the last day of the late session. The last official act that I performed was the conclusion with him of that contract. I am gratified at having a bust of myself made by him, because he is a very superior artist, and because it will be the most perfect resemblance of me which my children will possess when I am gone.[1] I regret that there is no bust of my father taken while he lived, and which I can admire as a work of art. That of Binon, now in Faneuil Hall, is not bad, but it represents him in a high-collared coat, and looks as if he had no neck.

31st. Commodore and Mrs. Rodgers called to pay us a morning visit, but Mrs. Adams was gone into the city when they were here. The morning was clear summer sunshine, but the weather clouded up towards evening. I rode my horse from three to five, and was musing, as I rode, upon the construction of half a dozen elegiac stanzas to versify a similitude upon Corinthian brass. I accomplished it in part, and very

[1] There is a bust made later by the hand of the artist Powers, much to be preferred in all respects. It is placed over the tablet inscribed to his memory in the interior of the temple at Quincy. An engraving from it will be found opposite the title-page of the next volume.

much to my dissatisfaction. It is with poetry as with chess and billiards: there is a certain degree of attainment which labor and practice will reach, and beyond which no vigils and no vows will go. So the motto for my stanzas shall be

Non licet cuivis, adire Corinthum.

Certain questions of philosophical speculation presented themselves also as I was jogging along upon my horse, "the Governor." Such, for example, as how it happens that whenever there are chickens upon the ground there is always a hawk hovering in the sky. Also, whether in the history of any animal other than man there are dead languages. This question was suggested to me by certain frogs, whom I heard croaking brekekekex, koax koax koax, which I remembered was the language of frogs in Homer's time;[1] and this reminded me of what old Mr. Dumas once told me, that the Greek Eta was pronounced like the French gravely accented è, because Aristophanes, to express the bleating of sheep, writes it βῆ.

I commenced a letter to Governor Barbour, and finished reading the tenth Philippic. It is an argument for confirming the acts of Marcus Brutus in Greece, and of Hortensius, Proconsul in Macedonia. In this, as in the preceding oration, he debates against the opinion of Fufius Calenus, a Senator secretly in the interest of Mark Antony, but whom Cicero opposes with much delicacy. He repeats in this oration what he had said before to the people: that other nations could bear servitude, but the Roman people could not, because others were fugitives from labor and pain, while the Romans always referred their conduct to virtue and dignity, even at the cost of life.

The Month. The greatest change in my condition occurred at the beginning of this month which has ever befallen me—dismission from the public service and retirement to private life. After fourteen years of incessant and unremitted employment, I have passed to a life of total leisure; and from living in a constant crowd, to a life of almost total solitude. I have continued as yet, however, to be much engaged with writing. Some letters, and my reply to the appeal of the confederates,

[1] Rather in the chorus of the play of Aristophanes.

absorb my time. I rise between five and six; write till nine; breakfast; read the newspapers, the Philippics, Pelham, Senate journals, documents, and my own diary, and write alternately, till three or four; walk or ride from one to two hours; dine between five and six; read, write, or doze from seven to eleven, and then to bed. Here are my stanzas upon Corinthian brass:

When Rome's proud eagles o'er the welkin sped,
And bore her thunders through the fields of fame,
They hurled the bolt at Corinth's hapless head,
And gave her towers and temples to the flame.

Behold the pride of Greece in ashes laid!
Then Desolation, panting to destroy,
Surveyed intent the ruin he had made,
And clapped his wings, and screamed unholy joy!

Yet was not Corinth utterly undone:
Metallic virtue through the fire could pass;
Gold, silver, copper, melted into one,
In common fusion, formed Corinthian brass.

That metal, fashioned by the sculptor's skill,
Of sage and hero bore the form sublime,
And through the lapse of ages, burnished still,
Still bids defiance to the tooth of time.

Thus in the furnace of affliction tried,
Sustained by dauntless fortitude, the mind
Can unconsumed the raging fire abide,
Shed but her dross, and issue forth refined,

Then, by the hand of him who rules the ball,
From virtue's mould receive her fairest form,
Live through all time, no longer doomed to fall,
Defy the bolt, and brighten in the storm.

April 1st. I read two or three chapters of Pelham, among which that containing the character of Christopher Clutterbuck, the twin brother, as the author acknowledges, of Dominie Sampson. But he has given Christopher a shrew and slattern for a wife, and has degraded the classical studies by representing them as destructive of health and of life, and as leading to no more useful result than a voluminous dissertation upon the Greek particle, with a self-conceit of the writer as if it placed him on a level with Newton. Now, that the tendency of clas-

sical studies may be to absorb too large a portion of the mind in the contemplation of language may be true, but it is not necessary. The most important and laborious duty of a Protestant divine is the composition of sermons, the weekly instruction in religion and morality of which he is the dispenser to his flock. To qualify him for the performance of this duty classical learning is no useless lumber. It is no unprofitable study to him, that which enables him to read the Scriptures in their original languages, which acquaints him with the writings of the fathers, which makes him familiar with the philosophers, the poets, the historians, the orators, of Greece and Rome. If the teachers of religion can use the language in which Christ spoke, and his apostles wrote, to no better purpose than to compose a dissertation upon the Greek particle; if the teachers of morals can draw no available funds from the language of Pythagoras and Plato; if the Christian orator can draw no shaft from the quivers of Aristotle and Quinctilian, or of Demosthenes and Cicero, the fault is surely not in his studies. If his lamp affords no light, it is not for lack of oil, but because he hides it under a bushel. I began also to read the eleventh Philippic of Cicero.

2d. From three to five I rode my horse the ten-mile square—by the college, the race-ground, S. H. Smith's, the Capitol Hill, and the Pennsylvania Avenue. This is my favorite ride, so that I now scarcely ever take any other; the reasons for which are, that it is just of the suitable length for a two hours' ride; that I return not by the same road that I go out; that the road itself is good, and that it gives an extensive prospect, opening at different places in various aspects; and then there is the natural propensity of treading over the same ground that one has trodden before. I observe this day almost the first appearances of vegetation; spots of verdure coloring upon the ground. But my mood was not pensive. At home I continued writing upon my reply to the appeal. Finished a letter to Governor Barbour. Read sections 6–10 of the eleventh Philippic, and a very few chapters of Pelham. The notes are changed to tragic. The chapter giving the account of the murder of Sir John Tyrrell is written with great powers of description, both of the scenes

of nature and of the dark passions of the soul. Walter Scott is the founder of this school of writing, and the author of Pelham is an imitator not inferior to his original. There is more of nature in the characters, more of variety in the dialogue, less of pedantry in the discourses, and more frequent transitions in the narrative, than in Scott. There is also more invention, the basis of Scott's novels being historical, and this being altogether fictitious. All writing for the public should have some moral purpose. This indeed is the intended purpose of most, if not of all the novels of the present age. There is a refinement of delicacy in them which renders them more suitable for youth, but which takes from their merit as pictures of manners. Pelham goes to Paris, but he paints only Duchesses and gamblers, salons and boudoirs. In England it is the same —high life in London, and palaces in the country—Almacks or Newmarket. Notwithstanding this, he gives great interest to the story, and abounds with wit, though he has very little humor.

3d. I finished reading the eleventh Philippic. Dolabella, in concert with Mark Antony, had murdered treacherously Trebonius, at Smyrna, and made himself master of the province of Asia, which had been assigned by the Senate to Trebonius. The Senate had thereupon declared Dolabella to be a public enemy, and the question now was, to whom the command should be given to prosecute the war against him. He advises giving it by decree to Cassius, who, with Brutus, had levied an army in Greece and Asia without authority; and this was accordingly done. The anarchy which followed upon the death of Julius Cæsar seems wonderful. The conspirators do not appear to have made any arrangements for a subsequent movement. They seem to have thought there was nothing more for them to do—nothing but to kill Cæsar. Here we have Mark Antony, Lepidus, Octavius Cæsar, Brutus, Cassius, Trebonius, Dolabella, and others, all levying armies without regular authority. In this case the whole weight of the oration is to dissuade the Senate from assigning the war against Dolabella to the Consuls. There is much oratory in the praise of Brutus and of Cassius. The fine sentiments in this oration are

—section 3. It is the duty of a wise man to premeditate everything that can happen to him; to bear it with fortitude. There is more of wisdom in providing against the event, but not less of spirit to bear it bravely if it happens. 4. Forasmuch as the power of the soul exceeds that of the body, insomuch the pains of the mind are severer than those of the body. 6. Whence you may judge that my differences are not with men, but with the cause. 7. Dolabella himself is daring, rash, addicted to the gladiatorian form of death. 11. In this great revolution and perturbation of things it is necessary rather to yield to the times than to principles. Dolabella had been the husband of Cicero's daughter Tullia.

While I was riding this day, I undertook to make a paraphrase of La Fontaine's Fable of the Plague among the Beasts. I found it fell naturally into a ten-lined stanza, of which two were fashioned during my ride. Neither tale nor fable is usually written in that form, the tendency of which is to too great stiffness for their light and airy composition.

4th. Mr. Van Buren, the new Secretary of State, paid me a morning visit with Mr. Hamilton. Of the new Administration he is the only person who has shown me this mark of common civility. General Jackson had received from me attentions of more than a common character, besides obligations of a much higher order, which at the time when they were rendered he had expressly acknowledged and declared he would remember. All the members of his Administration have been with me upon terms of friendly acquaintance, and have repeatedly shared the hospitalities of my house. I never was indebted for a cup of cold water to any one of them, nor have I ever given to any one of them the slightest cause of offence. They have all gradually withdrawn from all social intercourse with me—from the old impulse, "odisse quem læseris:" they hate the man they have wronged. Ingham is among the basest of my slanderers, Branch and Berrien have been among the meanest of my persecutors in the Senate. Among them all there is not a man capable of a generous or liberal sentiment towards an adversary, excepting Eaton; and he is a man of indecently licentious life. They have made themselves my adversaries solely

for their own advancement, and have forfeited the characters of gentlemen to indulge the bitterness of their self-stirred gall.

Van Buren, by far the ablest man of them all, but wasting most of his ability upon mere personal intrigues, retains the forms of civility, and pursues enmity as if he thought it might be one day his interest to seek friendship. His principles are all subordinate to his ambition, and he will always be of that doctrine upon which he shall see his way clear to rise. Our conversation was about the weather and the climate, and upon the negotiation with the Porte, which, from a late paragraph in an English newspaper, I fear is broken off.

Commodore and Mrs. Warrington were here, and Mr. Raymond, of Baltimore, a writer upon political economy and upon politics—ingenious, but eccentric and extravagant. I rode my ten miles' round, and while on my horse composed three stanzas of my fable. I had composed one at home this morning.

Sunday 5th. The morning was foul, and I rode to the Presbyterian Church, where I heard Mr. Campbell preach from John iii. 18: "He that believeth not is condemned already." This is a part of a verse which, separated from its context, bears a different sense from what it has, taken with the context. Mr. Campbell considers unbelief as the great sin of the impenitent. And he thinks great numbers are unbelievers without being aware of it themselves. His discourse, which, I think, was not more than twenty minutes long, consisted of an enumeration of all the causes of unbelief, and he particularly noticed the great delusion, almost universal, of sinners, that they cannot control their own belief. The doctrine is not congenial to my belief, and when I hear a very earnest oration to show that which I do not believe, there is something irksome to hear it. I do suppose that thinking men cannot control their belief, nor can I think them under a very heavy responsibility for a belief which I cannot command my judgment to be satisfied with. I saw the President at church, the first time I had seen him since the 4th of March, 1825.

I finished reading the twelfth Philippic of Cicero. It was upon a proposal that he himself should be sent upon a deputation with Publius Servilius to Mark Antony. The argument

is, first, against sending any deputation; secondly, and specially, against *his* being sent. Yet he finally concludes by saying that he will go, if he can with safety to his life. Much of the argument against his going is drawn from the personal danger to his life; and the picture that he draws of the danger of his situation, even at Rome, is terrific. He repeats, however, his lofty sentiments of liberty, and declares that his caution to preserve his own life is only for the service that he may still render to his country. I finished also the fable of The Plague in the Forest, an imitation of La Fontaine's Animaux malades de la Peste, of which I wrote this day five stanzas.

6th. Mr. Fendall came out, and I gave him five sheets of my reply to the Appeal. I had a long conversation with him upon his projected history of my Administration, and upon my political life. He has asked me repeatedly to furnish him some notes for a preliminary political view of parties from the formation of our Confederacy, which I have promised to give him, but which I have not yet had time to prepare. But he said he thought of making that the last chapter which he should write—which I told him I thought would be his best plan. He has not yet been dismissed from the Department of State, but expects it from day to day. He remarked upon the singularity of my fortune and history; that I was perhaps the only man who had risen to the highest office in the Union by a course of action independent of all parties.

Mr. Cushing, of Newburyport, was here; informed me that he was going to Europe, intending a tour of two years in France and England, and asked me to give him letters of introduction. This is a request always unpleasant to refuse, and seldom agreeable to comply with, for persons who are total strangers. Mr. Cushing is somewhat known as a public man, and was a tutor at Cambridge when my two elder sons were students there. I have no other acquaintance with him. While I was President, I declined giving letters of introduction to individuals, to which I made few exceptions. The solicitations for them are now coming upon me again, and I expect will prove very troublesome. I promised one, however, to Mr. Cushing.

On returning home, I found Judge Hay and his son Charles, who has been dismissed from his office as Chief Clerk of the Navy Department, at which they are both indignant. The Judge says that he visited the President twice, and spoke to him of his anxiety for his son. The General told him he must not believe rumors and reports; they were without foundation: no person would be removed from office unless he had abused it for electioneering purposes. The Judge said he told this afterwards the same day to a gentleman, who snapped his finger and thumb three times and said the General's promises were worth that. Judge Hay and Persico both spoke to me of my letter to the New Jersey Rahway Committee, which is published both in the National Intelligencer and Journal of this morning. The Judge said he would call and see me again, and mentioned that, at the advice of Mr. Rives, Mr. Monroe was now intensely occupied upon a history of his own times; that he had been employed some time on a dissertation upon government, which nobody would read. He said that both Mr. and Mrs. Monroe were very unwell, but that Mr. Monroe spent too much of his time in writing; also, that he was much concerned about these removals from office—for T. Swann, T. Ringgold, and S. L. Gouverneur.

7th. Mr. Rush called upon me this morning, and gave me a small collection of pamphlets, chiefly of his own writing: among them, a collection of his annual reports on the finances; an article published in the Intelligencer upon the death of George Canning; and a character of John Randolph. He said he had now determined to go to England to attempt making a loan for the three corporations of the District, and expected to leave this city to embark about the 16th of this month; but he seems apprehensive that the expectation of his constituents here will be to obtain the loan at lower terms than six per cent., which he thinks impossible, and so do I. He mentioned also the publication of my answer to the New Jersey Rahway Committee, and the remarks upon it which he had heard yesterday. He promised to call upon me again before his departure. I read this morning the seven numbers signed "One of the Convention," published in the National Intelligencer of

January and February, 1820, and also the eight numbers in answer to them, signed "Massachusetts," and written by Mr. Bailey. Both the series furnish ample materials for remark and commentary; and there are facts stated in Mr. Bailey's papers to which it will be necessary for me to refer. I think it was Boileau who boasted that he had taught Molière the art of rhyming with difficulty. All composition for the public should be laborious. "Ajoutez quelquefois et souvent effacez." I can add much to the force of my reply from ideas collected by the perusal of these papers. But in the manner in which I am treating the subject, I fall into numerous repetitions. In argument, perhaps such repetitions are useful, and even necessary. In history or biography, they should be carefully avoided. Mr. Bailey has clearly marked the three periods of the New England efforts to convene a representative assembly, and the occasions of the failures in the two first instances. There is an abundance of vulnerable matter in the numbers of "One of the Convention." The pains taken to obtain the consent of all the members of the Convention to his publications; the deposit with Gales and Seaton of a certified copy of the Journal of the Convention; the incipient complaints of abandonment by the writer's party, and that others as bad as he had been forgiven —meaning Rufus King; insinuations that he (Otis) had been overpersuaded to go to the Convention; and admissions that he had discovered since that these Conventions are very dangerous things; are all worthy of note. The manifestations of public dissatisfaction at the appearance of those papers is very strong, and he formally desisted from the completion of the task he had undertaken, awed by the symptoms of impatience that they had excited.

8th. I took my ride at an earlier hour of the day than usual —from two to four—and I wrote a letter to Mr. Oliver Wolcott. I continue writing also upon my reply to the Appeal, and have been so scandalously abused and misrepresented by so many men of influence and power in this country, that I find it impossible to pursue my own justification without the application of the scourge to them.

My attempt this day on La Fontaine's Oak and Willow

failed, as had yesterday The Coach and the Fly. La Fontaine varies continually the measure of his verse. There is only one of his fables in stanzas—The Cock and the Pearl. Almost all are in lines of different length. Phædrus is all in pentameter. The narrative of fables should approach as much as possible to the style of familiar conversation, for which irregular verse is best adapted. La Fontaine mingles with this some splendid versification, and even lines of sublime poetry; and this is the perfection of fable-writing. The English fabulists, Gay and Moore, wrote all their fables in one measure—couplets of eight syllables. These are not well suited to the high flights of poetical expression, nor to the familiarity of dialogue for comic humor. There are a few fables of Peter Pindar in the exact style of La Fontaine, and I think them among the best in the language.

9th. Finished reading the thirteenth and began the fourteenth Philippic. This is, next to the second, perhaps the most remarkable of them all. The debate was upon a decree of the Senate, proposed, approving certain acts of Sextus Pompeius the son, and upon letters from Lepidus, recommending peace with Mark Antony. The argument of Cicero is that peace with Antony is impossible. It begins with a beautiful encomium upon peace, and expressions of abhorrence to civil war; but contends that peace must be consistent with liberty, and that the guilt of war is chargeable upon those who would reduce their country to servitude. He names Sylla, Marius, Cinna, and alludes, without naming him, to Julius Cæsar. Half the oration is devoted to an examination of a letter from Antony to Hirtius and to Octavius Cæsar, the whole of which Cicero reads and comments upon, sentence by sentence. The letter is well written, and shows the unfortunate position of all the parties who then supported the cause of liberty. The purpose which Antony declares is to punish the murderers of Julius Cæsar. Hirtius was one of Cæsar's most devoted subordinate commanders. Octavius was his adopted son. Decimus Brutus, besieged by Antony in Mutina, was one of Julius Cæsar's assassins. Trebonius, put to death by Dolabella at Smyrna, was another; and Dolabella, decreed by the Senate to be a

public enemy, had been the son-in-law of Cicero. Thus Cicero was obliged to turn his invective against his own son-in-law; to justify the murder of Julius Cæsar; and yet to load with praises and honors Octavius Cæsar and the Consuls Hirtius and Pansa; while Antony to them appeared in the attitude of avenger of the death of their father and friend. The letter which Hirtius had sent to Cicero sets off all these circumstances in a very striking manner, and is of itself sufficient to show that the affair scarcely could terminate otherwise than it did—by the Triumvirate. Antony glories in the murder of Trebonius by Dolabella; offers peace if the troops of Decimus Brutus will surrender him up to be executed; and speaks with the most bitter and sneering rancor of Cicero. "He reviles me," says the orator, "as if his former reproaches had succeeded; but I will deliver him with the brand of foul and just reproach stamped upon him in the everlasting memory of mankind." There are several fine sentiments expressed with great beauty, and a contrasted enumeration of individuals opposed to Antony, and of his partisans, in keen and indignant irony. It is, next to the second, the longest of the Philippics.

10th. I rode my ten miles' round before dinner, with a slight sprinkling of rain on my return. I finished, much to my dissatisfaction, the fable of The Oak and the Willow. Yet it might be amended to be readable. I also finished reading the fourteenth and last of the Philippics. It was delivered upon the account being first received at Rome of the battle at Mutina, in which Antony had been defeated by the Consuls Hirtius and Pansa, and by Octavius Cæsar. The question was, of the honors and rewards to be bestowed upon them and their troops. Cicero proposes honorary rewards to the three Generals, and that each of them should be styled *Imperator;* that the surviving soldiers should receive the rewards promised them, and that they should be extended to the parents and brothers of those who had been slain. He speaks with great feeling of the consternation which had prevailed at Rome some days before, when there had been rumors of defeat at Mutina, and of the great joy with which the real success of the Consuls, and of Octavius Cæsar, had been received. He describes the joy which

the defeat of Antony had occasioned, and defends himself against having suffered the fasces to be carried before him the day before, when almost the whole population of Rome had escorted him to and from the Senate. This was the last of his orations, for very shortly afterwards the treacherous Triumvirate of Antony, Octavius Cæsar, and Lepidus was formed, and Cicero was barbarously murdered. These fourteen orations were all composed within about a year after the death of Julius Cæsar. They exhibit the expiring agonies of Roman liberty, and they carry with them a melancholy interest, when read with a recollection of the catastrophe which ensued. There are two ideas which form the basis of argument in the whole series: first, that servitude is worse than death; and, secondly, that liberty was a peculiar property of the Roman people—that other nations could endure servitude, but that the Roman people could not. But the civil wars of Sylla, Marius, and Cinna, and the career of Julius Cæsar, had destroyed that character of the Romans. They were prepared for servitude, and nothing could save them from it. There is an ominous presentiment running through all these orations, that the life of the orator is staked upon them. Plutarch says that Cicero purposely polished these orations more than any others that he had ever delivered before, but there is too much sameness in them, both of form and subject; but the noble sentiments contained in them will preserve them forever.

11th. Mrs. Tudor and her daughter, Mrs. Stewart, were here. They propose to reside in Washington. Mrs. Tudor left with me a letter from her son William, written at sea, and in Valparaiso, in January and February, 1828. It gives her a very interesting account of his receiving at Lima the commission I had sent him as Chargé d'Affaires at Rio de Janeiro; and also some striking notices of La Mar, the President, and Luna Pizarro, a member of Congress, of Peru; and it speaks with great severity of Bolivar. Tudor's mission to Brazil has been a very honorable one to himself, creditable to the Administration which appointed him, and highly useful to the country. He has obtained a settlement of many of the complaints of commercial depredations, and has concluded a commercial

treaty so advantageous that it has been ratified by the present President, by and with the advice and consent of the present Senate. Tudor unadvisedly asked and urged last summer permission to return to the United States; which I gave him, and which I am afraid he will now not be allowed to retract. His health has been much affected by living in tropical climates, and he was not aware how difficult it would be after getting out of the public service to get in again. His mother and sister appear much concerned now at the prospect of his return, and hope it will not be permitted.

Mr. Fendall brought back the sheets of my reply to the Appeal, which he took when last here, and made some judicious remarks on certain passages. I mentioned several pamphlets which I wished to consult, and which he will endeavor to procure for me. He told me that Henry Lee was already commissioned as Consul at Algiers in the place of Shaler, who wished to go to the Havanna. He says that since Mr. Van Buren has taken charge of the Department of State, James A. Hamilton continues to attend there and do business as he did before Van Buren came. He thinks the plan is, at the next session of Congress, to obtain a law for an Under Secretary of State for the Home Department, for which Hamilton is reserved. He says Carter Lee told him that President Jackson said to Harry Lee that he regretted Congress was not in session, for that if they were, he would recommend to them to pass an Act for hanging up at the yard-arm of the public ships any pirates whom they might take at sea, without bringing them in for trial.

12th. I called at Mr. Van Buren's lodgings, and left cards for him and Mr. Hamilton, who is gone to Baltimore with his family. Mr. Van Buren was out, as was Mr. Rush, at whose house I also called, and then walked home. I read also the fourteenth book of the Epistles of Cicero to Atticus; those which immediately followed after the Ides of March, when Cæsar was killed. I have neither dictionary, nor translation, nor Index Latinitatis at hand, and I find the Epistles much more difficult to read than the orations. There is a continual admixture of Greek words—sometimes whole phrases. There

are numerous allusions to letters from Atticus, which are not given; many idiomatic and proverbial phrases, which require a thorough familiarity with the language; an elliptic style —leaving out half the words which would be necessary to make the sentences grammatical; studied obscurity, by the use of figurative words, understood only by his correspondent; sudden transitions from public to private affairs, and vice versâ; and fragments of thoughts just hinted at, for the memory or imagination of his correspondent to complete: all require a commentary, which I have not, and which for reading the orations is seldom needed. There are twenty-two letters written between the Ides (15th) of March and the 1st of June, showing the fluctuation of his feelings, his doubts, and alternate hopes and fears, in observing the conduct of Antony, Dolabella, Hirtius, Pansa, and Brutus. The thirteenth encloses copies of a letter from Antony to him, and his answer. Antony requests his consent to the restitution of the estate of Publius Claudius, for the sake of his son Sextus, a tender-minded youth; and pretends that it was so decreed in the Acts of Julius Cæsar, but protests he will not do it without Cicero's consent. The letter is full of deference and complacency, and Cicero answers with equal courtesy and professed affection. But in the letter to Atticus enclosing these copies he speaks with execration of Antony, and of his acts, and says they sometimes make him wish Cæsar back again. He adds, as a reason for the facility of his compliances, that Antony, having determined upon it in his own mind, would have done it in spite of any opposition that he could have made. This is duplicity beyond the mark. This, I presume, is the letter which Antony read to the Senate the day before Cicero pronounced the second Philippic, and upon the production of which he replies in the fourth section of that oration with such exquisite force and beauty. The seventeenth encloses a copy of a letter equally affectionate and complimentary to Dolabella. Throughout the book he hints at the danger of his appearing in Rome, and of the certainty of destruction to Brutus and Cassius if they should show themselves there. The whole book is deeply interesting.

15th. I read the remaining letters of the sixteenth book

of Cicero's letters to Atticus, which come down only to the time when Cicero returned to Rome before he pronounced any of the Philippics. I read also the correspondence between him and Brutus afterwards, down till after the second battle at Mutina, when both the Consuls Hirtius and Pansa were killed. Brutus complains with great severity both to Cicero and to Atticus of Cicero's compliances to, and flattery of, the boy Octavius Cæsar. The apology of Cicero is, that the restoration of the republic depended exclusively and entirely upon the course which Octavius would take. Cicero encloses to Brutus copies of two of his Philippics, to which, he tells him, he has given that name. There is no letter to or from Cicero giving an account of the assassination of Cæsar. In the last letter of the thirteenth book to Atticus he mentioned his having entertained Cæsar at supper on the third day of the Saturnalia, about two months before the Ides of March. The first letters of the next book were written some time after Cæsar's death, but how long after does not appear. In the third he says he thinks Antony is paying more attention to his banquetings than to the breeding of mischief. At the close of his sixteenth book are letters to Plancus and to Capito and to Cupiennius, explaining all the passages in preceding letters relating to Buthrotum.

16th. Dr. Huntt came out this morning and vaccinated my son's infant daughter. He sat and talked with me perhaps an hour upon the only subject which now furnishes materials for conversation at Washington, which is the removals and new appointments to office. They are effected a few at a time, and in such a manner as to keep up a constant agitation and alarm among the office-holders. Multitudes of applicants are kept in suspense, and now and then one goes off gratified. The appointments, almost without exception, are conferred upon the vilest purveyors of slander during the late electioneering campaign, and an excessive disproportion of places is given to editors of the foulest presses. Very few reputable appointments have been made, and those confined to persons who were indispensably necessary to the office, such as Asbury Dickins to the place of Chief Clerk in the Treasury Department.

I return to the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth books of Cicero's Epistles to Atticus. In the eleventh of the sixteenth book he speaks of his treatise "De Officiis;" says that he had finished it as far as the work of Panætius had gone, which was two of the three books, Panætius not having given the third. That had been completed by Posidonius; which supplement Cicero says he has not, but has sent for it, and also for an abstract of the chapters. The word "Officia" was questionable, and then used by him in a new sense. In the eighth and ninth letters of the same book he gives account of letters from Octavius, promising to be governed by him—inviting him to a secret conference with him at or near Capua—manifesting a determination to make war upon Antony. Cicero distrusts him; asks advice of Atticus what to do; calls for Brutus, who says he is losing excellent time, and declares he never was in so great a doubt what to do.

18th. The newspapers announce this morning the appointment of Louis McLane, of Delaware, as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Great Britain, in the place of James Barbour, removed. This is the most painful incident to me which has occurred since the change of the Administration, and it proves the utter heartlessness of Van Buren. He and McLane and Governor Barbour were all partisans of Crawford in 1825. McLane voted for him in the House, and thereby gave him the State of Delaware. McLane is utterly incompetent to the mission to London, and if he does not disgrace the country, will effect nothing for her interest. His only merit is the sale of himself and his Crawford stock to Jackson. But he will give him and Van Buren trouble. No Administration can make bad appointments abroad with impunity.

19th. Anniversary of Lexington battle.

Warm day. Trees are blossoming or putting out their leaves. I walked to the Presbyterian Church, and heard a stranger preach from John i. 29: "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world." It is painful to me to hear a Calvinist preach upon this text, and to witness the solemn and fervent sincerity with which they pour out absurdity and nonsense. The mind of man delights in truth in the abstract,

and is perpetually seeking falsehood in the concrete. Warned of the imperfection of my own reason, I distrust its conclusions, as I do those of others; and when I consider what man is, whence he comes, and where he goes, physically, I wonder only at the degree in which he does possess the power of linking together cause and effect; that he should form the conception of God, of eternity, of a future state, of mind independent of matter; and I cannot account for the passion which I most intensely feel for continued existence hereafter. The preacher told us to-day that it was all owing to curiosity, which, he said, was innate in man; and he illustrated it by reminding his hearers how anxious they were to see General La Fayette when he was in this country. He further said that if there was a great military commander who had saved his country in war (General Jackson was present), or if there was a great man in another line who had rendered services as a statesman (God forgive me for my thoughts when he said this), there was a universal curiosity to see them; but how he got from this to his text I scarcely remember: he did, however, get there.

I walked home, and after finishing, very ill, La Fontaine's fable of The Fox and the Goat, I thought I would try my hand upon Horace. I took the Ode to Aristius Fuscus, Book I., Ode 22; but found Horace quite otherwise unmanageable than La Fontaine. I did, nevertheless, make out an ode in three eight-lined stanzas, and comprising in the main the ideas of the first eight and last eight lines of Horace's ode. I left out the Wolf and Lalage, which constitute, to be sure, the body of that most delicious poem; and I gave it a more grave and solemn close, mixing up with it an idea from the sixteenth ode of the second book, to Grosphus, and one from the third ode of the third book. The great fault of my ode is that the first half of the third stanza is feeble, and not in keeping with the last. In the evening I finished my letter to Dr. Condict, and read a few pages of Valerius Maximus, an author with whom I have never before been conversant. His Latin is not easy, and his style not very clear. His book is a collection of memorable sayings and doings; a compilation of anecdotes illustrative of certain principles of religion and morals, divided

into nine books, and classified under particular titles. 'Tis a commonplace book.

21st. Mr. Frye called and spent an hour with me this evening in deep agitation at a discovery just made, that Dr. Watkins, late Fourth Auditor, has been peculating upon the public money, to the amount of nine or ten thousand dollars at least; balances remitted by the Navy Agents to be deposited in the Treasury, and which Watkins has applied to his own use. Frye was told it by Fillebrown and Maury, both clerks in the Navy Department. Watkins is gone off, and Frye expects will be arrested at New York. I was more shocked at hearing this than I could be at the loss of ten elections. Frye says, furthermore, that Goldsborough, Chief of the Navy Commissioners, told him that they, and all the Navy, were extremely dissatisfied with Mr. Southard's administration of the Navy Department, and especially mortified at an intimation in a late report that few of the navy officers were profound astronomers.

22d. The New York American which came this evening contains letters from several members of Congress from Connecticut to Judge Gould, a son-in-law of Uriah Tracy, who were in Congress with him in 1804 and 5, and who deny their knowledge or belief that Tracy ever had knowledge of the project of a Northern confederacy at that time. One of them is James Hillhouse, who well knew of the project at the time, and whom I have heard say that it would never be well with us till we should have undergone a little surgical operation. There is no letter from S. W. Dana. Judge Gould says he did not recollect that Dana was a member of Congress at that time till it was too late. I do not know that Dana was acquainted with the project, although my recent letters from his female relative give some reason to suspect it. The motives for suppressing the facts now are so strong that sturdy denial is like a plea of "not guilty" in a court of law. Mr. Wolcott's answer to my letter is not so explicit as I expected it would be. It leaves the matter uncertain whether he knew of the project or not. It leaves even ground for supposing that he favored it himself; and yet the warmth with which he repels the suspicion from Hamilton seems hardly compatible

with a possibility that he should have been himself otherwise disposed. Altogether, his letter shows that he is not willing to tell all that he does know, and wishes to vindicate the characters of the fathers of the actors in the controversies of the day as far as he can with truth and justice. He does not answer the most important question that I proposed to him, of his own letter to Mr. Cabot, containing the views of General Hamilton against the disunion project.

23d. The day was sultry and at summer heat. I rode only about an hour before dinner, and composed the fable of The Lion and the Gnat, and one stanza more of the Ode to Licinius. One stanza of Horace costs me more thought than five fables of La Fontaine. The thoughts of La Fontaine are more manageable. His versification differs so little from prose that it is much easier for me to compose while riding than it would be to compose the same fables in prose itself; the rhymes at the ends of the lines, and the measure of the lines, affording aids to the memory, which sometimes enable me to retain a whole fable of fifty lines. I find the stanza of eight lines and of eight syllables with alternate rhyme the best measure for the fable. No one measure, indeed, is good for a succession of fables; and, indeed, they are a species of poetry of which only one should be read at a time. The very practice of composing them palls upon my taste, so that I become ashamed of wasting upon them even the time devoted to my daily exercise. It seems to me that I could employ it more usefully; but I seek in vain the means. This, however, together with my reply to the Appeal, and this diary, keeps my mind so constantly upon the stretch that I have no time for reflection, and very little for reading. I am also growing weary of my Reply, and hope to finish it in eight or ten days more.

24th. I rode the ten miles' round, composed the fable of The Bat and the Two Weasels, and two stanzas of Horace's Ode to Licinius. The fourth and fifth stanzas read thus:

IV.

Sperat infestis, metuit secundis
Alteram sortem bene præparatum
Pectus. Informes hyemes reducit
Jupiter; idem

In adverse fortune, *hope* will cheer,
And joyous moments check with *fear*,
The justly balanced mind.
'Tis the same Being good and wise
The genial breeze of spring supplies,
And winter's blasting wind.

v.

Summovet: non, si malè nunc, et olim
Sic erit: quondam citharâ tacentem
Suscitat Musam, neque semper arcum
Tendit Apollo.

Is grief your visitor to-day?
To-morrow drives him far away.
Bear cheerfully your woe.
Touch with your hand Apollo's lyre,
Not always will the God inspire,
Not always bend his bow.

The whole ode is full of charming philosophy, but these two stanzas strike me at this time as of exquisite beauty. Horace's stanzas are of four lines; mine are of six, and make rather a paraphrase than a translation. It is impossible to concentrate thought into single words in English as it is in the Latin. I have translated, for example, the single word "Jupiter" by a whole line: "'Tis the same Being good and wise." The thought is in Horace. It was Jupiter Optimus Maximus who was lord of the air, and restored or discarded winter. But the direct expression of the wisdom and goodness which preside over these changes of the seasons seems to me to add both to the poetry and to the philosophy of the verses, and the turn of piety which it gives to the whole ode adds to its pathos. I never understood the antithesis of the lyre and the bow of Apollo till this day. The single thought running through the whole ode is admirable.

25th. I received this morning a note from Captain Seaton, of the volunteer companies of the city, informing me that this was the day of their first annual parade, and that they were desirous of paying their respects to me previous to my departure from the District, and enquiring if I should be at home at one o'clock. I sent him for answer that I should be at home, and would receive the companies.

William Lee, heretofore Second Auditor of the Treasury, now dismissed from office, called to see me. He spoke to me with great feeling and disgust at the treachery and peculation of Watkins—the bitterest drop in the cup of my afflictions. For although I was in no respect answerable for it, and no Administration can escape from such defalcations, yet it will be charged as a stain upon the Administration, and actually proves the profligacy of one of its most earnest and active friends. The cause was that detestable vice of gambling. Lee says that his own official concerns are settled, and that his successor, Major Lewis, told him it was impossible that the office should have been kept in more perfect order. The proscriptions from office continue, and, independent of the direct misery that they produce, have indirectly tragical effects. A clerk in the War Office, named Henshaw, who was a strong partisan for Jackson's election, three days since cut his throat from ear to ear, from the mere terror of being dismissed. Linneus Smith, of the Department of State, one of the best clerks under the Government, has gone raving distracted, and others are said to be threatened with the same calamity.

Soon after one o'clock the four volunteer infantry companies came out, and drew up in line in front of the portico of the house. Captain W. W. Seaton, who was at their head, addressed me, and said that they had been desirous of coming to pay their respects to me, and to assure me of their good wishes for my health and happiness, before my departure. I answered him that I was very happy to receive them, and was glad to have an opportunity of returning my thanks to them, and through them to all the inhabitants of the District, for all the kindness I had experienced from them in the twelve years that I had been residing here. The officers were invited into the house, and took some refreshments, which were also sent out to the men upon the ground. After which, upon their resuming their arms, I went out and passed through the line, shaking hands with every individual among them. They then paid me a marching salute, and filed off, after being here about two hours.

27th. The removals from office are continuing with great

perseverance. The custom-houses in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia have been swept clear, also at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and New Orleans. The appointments are exclusively of violent partisans; and every editor of a scurrilous and slanderous newspaper is provided for. My next visitor was James A. Hamilton, who began by telling me that he totally disapproved of a publication of his brother, Alexander Hamilton, in the New York Evening Post. I had not seen this publication. James A. did not particularly describe the purport, but his object was to entreat me, if I should think it necessary to reply to his brother, not to refer to anything that *he* has said to me in his conversations with me. He said that nothing he had said was of a confidential nature, and nothing which he could object to my repeating; but that, after this publication of his brother's, if I should refer to what he had said to me it would put him in a very awkward situation as respected his brother, and give him the appearance of not having equal zeal for the reputation of his father. He said he had come to say this to me, because there was an intimation in the pamphlet in which Mr. Plumer's letter was published that I should reply to the Appeal.

I said that, not having seen his brother's publication, it was impossible for me to say whether it would require from me any notice of what he (James A.) had said to me; that my intention was to reply to the Appeal; that he had said to me what was confirmative of facts of which I had no doubt; that in our first conversation he had said there was a letter from his father to Mr. Cabot very strongly urging reasons against a division of the States; that at our second conversation he had said he believed he had been mistaken with regard to a letter from his father to Mr. Cabot, but that it was a letter from Mr. Oliver Wolcott containing his father's views on the subject; that he had also read to me two or three lines from a letter to him from his younger brother, stating that Mr. Wolcott had given, or would give, a full statement, and that it fully refuted Plumer's charge; that he had also told me there was a letter from his father to Mr. Sedgwick, written not more than three days before his death, also containing his views against the division of the Union.

He said I had mistaken him in some particulars. He had thought there was a letter from his father to Mr. Cabot, but it had not been found; he had afterwards believed it was a letter from Mr. Wolcott to his father; but that had not been found. The letter from his father to Mr. Sedgwick had been mentioned to him by Mr. Sedgwick's son before these enquiries; but that also had been sought for in vain. He thought I mistook the purport of his brother's letter concerning Mr. Wolcott's statement.

I repeated what I thought were the words of his brother's letter as he read them; and he said he would bring and show me the letter itself.

I told him there was other testimony than mine with regard to the proposal made to his father, and mentioned to him the statement made by De Witt Clinton in the Senate of New York in January, 1809. He said he had no more doubt than he had of his own existence that the statement made by Mr. Clinton was the fact. He repeated that he entirely disapproved of his brother's publication, and would have prevented him from making it if he could; and he hoped I should not think it necessary to answer it; but, if I should, that I would let him have notice of what I should say before publishing it.

I told him I would readily do that, and would not introduce him, or his information to me, into the dispute, if I could with propriety avoid it.

He also said he came to inform me that dispatches had been received from Mr. Offley and Captain Crane; that nothing had been done; that when it came to a discussion of terms, the Turks had demanded two ships of the line as the price of a treaty, and, that being declined, they had demanded one; which being also declined, they had finally offered to take fifty thousand dollars, which Mr. Offley had been disposed to accept at once. But Captain Crane would not assume the responsibility of drawing beyond the twenty thousand for which I had given him a credit.

Hamilton asked if I had expected that the treaty would be accomplished for twenty thousand dollars. I said, No; but I had given the credit as large as I could, from the fund of Contingent Expenses of Foreign Intercourse; but that I would

now, if it were in my power, not hesitate an instant to give fifty thousand dollars for the treaty, if it could be obtained; and would assume the responsibility of the payment at once. He asked how the money could be commanded. I told him that Alexander Baring would furnish it in five minutes, by an arrangement which the Minister of the United States might make with him, in the confidence of an appropriation. He said he was extremely desirous it should be done, as probably if the present opportunity should be missed it would not again occur in many years. I fear it will be lost.

Mr. Gallatin called while Mr. Hamilton was here. He and Mr. Preble are both here upon the Boundary question. He says they will remain here till about the middle of June, and a statement is to be delivered to the British Minister on the 1st of July. These visitors occupied me from soon after breakfast till near four in the afternoon.

29th. Mr. Fendall was here, and I gave him some additional sheets of my reply to the Appeal. He showed me a letter from Mr. Van Buren, the Secretary of State, to him, dated yesterday, stating that he was under the painful necessity of informing him that there would be no further occasion for his services after the end of the month, and that he gave him this early notice of it that he might continue his attendance at the office till the end of the month, or retire from it immediately, at his option. He informed me that William Slade and Thomas L. Thruston had received similar letters yesterday; besides which, Mr. Brent, the Chief Clerk, had been directed to give similar notices to George McCormick and George Watkins. Linneus Smith, disqualified by a fit of insanity, was removed some days since.

I asked Fendall what he proposed to do. He said he had no settled purpose. He had been bred to the law, but the profession presented no prospect of means for supporting a family. Fendall is a man of very superior talents as a writer, but, I fear, will suffer for want of other and more effective means. I rode before dinner to Georgetown, but, from the oppressive heat of the sun, was obliged to shorten my ride. Returning by the way of Mr. Frye's house, I stopped there,

and heard of some further dismissions from office—three in the War Department, one of whom is Richard Henry Lee, whom I had placed there about three months since.

My composition this day was interrupted. I accomplished only one stanza of the Ode to Grosphus, and one of the Fable of Simonides. Perturbation makes bad poetry. I received letters from O. Wolcott and from my son Charles; also one from Mr. Clay, enclosing a copy of my correspondence with the New Jersey Committee, printed upon satin.

30th. The morning was at summer heat, and, after breakfast, slipped away, as it often does, without interruption and imperceptibly. About three in the afternoon I mounted my horse, and had not rode a quarter of an hour before it began to rain and to thunder. I continued on, nevertheless, till, just before reaching the entrance of Mr. Samuel Harrison Smith's house, a heavy clap of thunder compelled me to take refuge there. I put my horse under a shed and went into a house, where I found Mrs. Smith and four or five young ladies, her daughters, with, I believe, a sister of Mr. Smith. He came in some time after from the U. S. Branch Bank, of which he is the President, with his son. The shower did not continue long, and I resumed and completed my ride. I composed only one stanza of the Fable of Simonides, very badly, and one of the Ode to Grosphus, rather better. I came home dumpish, answered a letter from Mr. Brigham, the Corresponding Secretary of the American Bible Society, inviting me to attend their anniversary meeting at New York, the second Thursday in May. Finished also my letter to Charles.

Day. I rise about five o'clock. Write upon my reply to the Appeal till eight. Between eight and nine breakfast. Two hours after are absorbed in reading the newspapers. I receive occasional visitors, who occupy one, two, or three hours. Write the journal of the preceding day, which, as observed at the beginning of the month, is now a journal of thoughts, and not of action. From three till five in the afternoon I walk or ride my horse. Dine between five and six, and write again, in the evening, letters, or on the Reply, till between ten and eleven, when I retire to bed. In my rides and walks I compose imitations of

fables of La Fontaine or of odes of Horace. But this occupation encroaches also upon some other part of my time. When in the midst of the construction of a stanza I return from my ride, I muse upon it sometimes an hour or two afterwards, and sometimes it takes me half an hour to write what I have been composing. This life would be happier than I have ever enjoyed, if it could continue; but I have yet duties to perform. The tempest against me rages without, and I must quit this Eden to go home. What awaits me there is known only to Him who disposes of all. Dugald Stewart gave Elliott Cresson the original lines written by Robert Burns on turning up the mouse's nest, and I find it in his album. The last lines are before me: "And forward though I cannot see, I guess and fear." And although I prefer the philosophy of Horace's Odes to Licinius and Grosphus, I cannot keep my mind up to their elevation. Before the close of the next month we are to remove, and I hope to have finished my reply to the Appeal; and pray for the perseverance of fortitude to endure whatever of severity may yet be reserved for me, for counsel to point out the best disposal of my time for the remainder of the days allotted me on earth, and for merciful dispensations of Providence.

May 1st. Dr. Huntt was here, and spoke of the universal consternation of all the office-holders at Washington upon the dismissions which have taken place within the last two days. A large portion of the population of Washington are dependent for bread upon these offices, and it is a proscription of which no one knows upon whom it will fall next. Every one is in breathless expectation, trembling at heart, and afraid to speak. Some of the dismissions are deserved: from age, from incapacity, from intemperance, from irregularities of private life; and these are made the pretext for justifying all the removals. The persons appointed are of equally various characters—some good, the greater part very indifferent, some notoriously bad—on the average, much less respectable than those dismissed. Among the last is the Postmaster, Thomas Munroe, a man of excellent character, highly esteemed, in whose place is substituted a Dr. Jones, of no character at all. Mr. Sweeny, one of the principal clerks, is likewise dismissed. This operation

upon the post-office is doubtless intended to serve as a foundation for others, and is of most mischievous tendency to the morals of the community.

I got through with the Fable of Simonides but very imperfectly, much to my dissatisfaction, and taking in not half the ideas of La Fontaine. In the evening, however, I got through with Horace's Ode to Grosphus as well, I believe, as I am capable of performing. In this and the ode of Horace to Licinius I have succeeded so well, that if I could be equally fortunate every day it would afford me a useful and creditable occupation for my leisure. But there is a secret of composition which I cannot discover—the reason why I find the extreme difference in the facility of writing one day over another; and the great difficulty is, the standard beyond which I cannot rise, which, however golden for the condition of life, is but a Saturnian age of lead for poetry. I wrote this evening part of a letter to Mr. Clay in answer to two from him.

12th. Mr. William Slade was here this morning, and spent more than two hours with me. He belongs to Middlebury, in the State of Vermont, and at the very earnest recommendation of several members of Congress from that State, particularly Mr. Seymour, of the Senate, I appointed him while I was Secretary of State a clerk in that Department. He is a man of superior talents, had been Secretary of the State of Vermont, and had published a valuable volume of Vermont State papers. He was qualified for much higher office than that of an ordinary clerk, and had been recommended for the office of Fourth Auditor, which I now regret that he did not obtain. He is one of those whom Mr. Van Buren, on the 28th of last month, dismissed from the Department by a note saying that he gave them that early notice, with the option to leave the office immediately or at the end of the month, observing that it was a painful duty, and assuring them of his good wishes for their welfare. Slade wrote to ask him if his dismission was caused by any imputation of misconduct. Van Buren answered equivocally, that there was no charge against him. Slade replied by a long and severe letter, and published the correspondence in the National Journal, and Intelligencer. Mr. Slade spoke to

me of my controversy with the Boston confederates, and I told him I had nearly finished my reply to their Appeal, but that it was doubtful whether I should ever publish it, and that I certainly should not without giving it a thorough revisal. He intends leaving the city to-morrow or the next day, to return to Middlebury.

14th. Dr. Huntt was here this morning, and spoke of the proceedings of the President and of his Administration in the process of his reforms. They are now falling upon the brevet pay, double rations, and contingent emoluments of the officers of the army, which were allowed by Mr. Calhoun while Secretary of War upon a questionable construction of the law, but which, having been known to Congress and sanctioned by successive appropriations, I had not withdrawn. The saving to the public will be of a few thousand dollars, deducted from the pittance of the principal officers of the army, which must be made up to them in some other way or they must be starved out. Huntt says the grand jury yesterday found a bill against Dr. Watkins. I began this morning some remarks upon parties in the United States.

18th. Richard Henry Lee called upon me this morning. He is one of the persons who, at my special desire, had been appointed a clerk in the War Department under the Paymaster-General, and who has been removed. He says it will be a benefit rather than a disadvantage to him; but I am afraid he is mistaken. It gave him a pittance which I fear he will not find elsewhere. He is going to Boston, and asked me for a letter of introduction to Mr. Quincy, President of the University at Cambridge, which I promised him. He goes with Fendall, and speaks of a wish definitively to settle there. He strongly feels the indignity of his dismission, and the unworthy pretexts upon which it was made.

19th. Mr. James A. Hamilton came, and showed me the dispatches received from Mr. Offley and Commodore Crane, who have failed in their negotiation; so, however, that with new instructions they may succeed with ease. The dates of the dispatches come down to 23d February. Hamilton told me he was going to-morrow for New York, and apologized for not

showing me his brother John's letter to him, as he had promised me he would when he was last here. He said he had, without thinking of it, packed it up with his papers to send to New York; but he promised to send it to me. I told him I had seen his brother Alexander's publication with surprise, but it was probable I should not for the present take any notice of it. He repeated that he entirely disapproved of it, and that his younger brother did so likewise.

Mr. Sparks called here early in the evening, just returned from Europe, where he has been to seek for documents relating to our Revolutionary War, and where he has had access to the public offices, both in France and England. He says he has collected many, and of much importance, but Mr. Van Buren demurs upon the fulfilment of the contract made with Mr. Sparks by Mr. Clay for publishing the correspondence of the Ministers of the United States in Europe during the Revolutionary War. Mr. Sparks spoke of the aid which he had received from the Marquis de Marbois in obtaining access to the public documents in France.

25th. The Chevalier Torlade, Chargé d'Affaires from the King of Portugal de facto, Don Miguel, paid me a long morning visit, and mentioned to me his present situation here. He had arrived here with letters of credence from Don Miguel as Regent—having been appointed during the preceding regency of his sister, Donna Isabella. But before his arrival here, Don Miguel had assumed the crown as King, but was not recognized by any of the European powers. I had declined receiving him, on the ground that, Don Miguel being at all events no longer Regent, his credentials as such could not be received, and reserving the question of recognition till the new credentials should be received. These are now come; but the President still suspends the reception of him. He says he is going to revoke immediately all the commissions of the Portuguese Consuls, and that he himself, to his great regret, will be compelled to embark shortly on his return to Portugal, the dignity of the King not permitting him to keep his Chargé d'Affaires here unrecognized. He says that Don Miguel positively refuses to marry his niece, and that an inclination for a

Bavarian Princess has perhaps some influence upon this determination. He told me that his dispatches from his Government expressed great regret at the change of Administration here. But I incline to think that Don Miguel's sympathies are with the Hickory broom. Mr. Torlade asked if there had not been received from Governor Barbour an exposition delivered to him, of Don Miguel's right to the crown of Portugal, by his Minister at London, to be communicated to me, with an autograph letter from the King.

I had not received the letter, but had some recollection of the exposition as having been received, either from T. L. L. Brent or from Mr. Barbour.

Mr. Torlade said Mr. James A. Hamilton told him he had seen it, but that Mr. Daniel Brent said it was not now to be found in the Department. Mr. Torlade spoke of the desire his Government had to conclude a commercial treaty; and that they would readily agree to one upon the basis of equalizing duties such as we had proposed. I asked if he had powers to sign a treaty. He said, No; that his Government had thought best not to give him power to treat until they had ascertained whether he would be received.

June 5th. Rode to the Potomac. Bathed; and swam short of fifteen minutes in the river. Returned by the way of the Capitol Hill. Called at Judge Cranch's, but he was at his office at the City Hall. I saw his son William, and informed him of our intention to leave the city next Monday, to return to Quincy, and that we would take any letters for the family that the Judge might wish to send. Mr. Daniel Brent and Mr. Walsh were here after dinner. Walsh was as courteous with me as ever. He urged me very earnestly to set about writing memoirs of my father's life, and also of my own times.

I told him I had had it in contemplation, and still intended it, but that I found cotemporary history could not be published with truth and safety; that the collisions in my father's life with Mr. Jefferson and with General Hamilton would require great boldness of narrative; and perhaps I should be obliged, like Horace Walpole, to seal up my manuscript and direct that it should be published not till thirty years after my death.

Walsh told me that he had always thought Hamilton, in his conduct towards my father, entirely wrong, and that he differed in that from Hopkinson. He said, too, that upon a rumor that he was going to write a history of my father's Administration, Colonel Troup, of New York, had written to him, earnestly soliciting him to say nothing against Hamilton. Mr. Walsh compared the proceedings in the British Parliament with those in our Congress, and thought there was more independence and more free exercise of mind in Parliament than in Congress; in which I differed from him. There is perhaps as much. We conversed freely upon other topics of general politics upwards of an hour, which abridged my subsequent ride.

8th. Rode the ten-mile round before breakfast. Met Mr. Van Buren riding also his horse, and we stopped and exchanged salutations. Van Buren is now Secretary of State. He is the manager by whom the present Administration has been brought into power. He has played over again the game of Aaron Burr in 1800, with the addition of political inconsistency, in transferring his allegiance from Crawford to Jackson. He sold the State of New York to them both. His first bargain failed, by the turn of the choice of Electors in the Legislature. The second was barely accomplished by the system of party management established in that State; and Van Buren is now enjoying his reward. His pale and haggard looks show that it is already a reward of mortification. If it should prove, as there is every probability that it will, a reward of treachery, it will be but his desert. Divine retribution is often accomplished by the perfidy of man. Nec lex est justior ulla. I was again occupied the whole day in the arrangement and assortment of papers and preparing for departure. Yet I shall leave them in great disorder.

Quincy, 18th.—At half-past eleven alighted at my paternal mansion in Quincy; which, if it pleases God, is to be my home for the short remnant of my days.

July 11th. My birthday. Sixty-two.

I enter this day upon my grand climacteric, with a consciousness that the actions of my life have not, in gratitude to God or in services to my fellow-creatures, been such as they ought

to have been. I have no right to hope or expect so well of the future as I can think of the past. My life for the public is closed, and it only remains for me to use my endeavors to make the remainder of it useful to my family and my neighbors, if possible. To this I am directing my purposes, for which I find a great deficiency of energy. I pray that it may be supplied me from abroad.

August 4th. I removed to the library a part of my father's papers, and propose commencing to-morrow the arrangement of them. The work that I undertake must be pursued with steadiness and perseverance, and in its progress will require the exercise of other qualities—prudence, moderation, justice, and an entire control over my own feelings. Nor can it succeed without indefatigable industry. These qualities, with continued health, can be dispensed only from above; and all will be of little avail unless my mind can be tempered to its subject, its vision cleared of obscurity, its weakness fortified with power, that the object of my affection and reverence may be known to future ages as he was; and that the narrative of his life, like his life itself, may contribute to the welfare and improvement of mankind.

5th. I began upon the collection of minutes and memoranda preparatory to the biographical memoir of my father. I propose to devote henceforth three hours a day to that portion of my business. My brother reminded me that it is this day twenty years since I embarked at Charlestown for Russia. I embark this day upon a more perilous, perhaps a more difficult, expedition.

6th. Proposing to write one page every day of the preparatory matter of my intended work, I began by collecting some of the books which I possess relating to the first settlement of New England. Looking successively into them, matters of curiosity presented themselves, which absorbed the morning, so that I was barely able to write my second page before dinner. The volume which I accidentally purchased at Berlin contains three pamphlets, each somewhat rare, and all relating to this subject. Thomas Morton's book purports to be printed at Amsterdam in 1637. It is in three books; the first giving

some account of the Indian natives; the second a description of the country; and the third is a disguised and mystified narrative of his own adventures with the colonists. But it is told in a conceited and figurative style, with interspersion of poetry, or rather of rhymes, and satirical fictitious names applied to the principal persons of the Plymouth and Massachusetts Colonies. This book is to be further examined, and compared with the other cotemporary publications, and with Winthrop's Journal.

I also looked into Mather's Magnalia, and read his lives of the three Thomas Shepherds, the second of whom married the daughter of William Tinge, and was my ancestor, their daughter having married Daniel Quincy, the father of John Quincy, my great-grandfather, whose name I bear. Mather mentions several publications of the first and second Thomas Shepherd, probably not recoverable. He gives also an abstract of instructions given by the second Thomas Shepherd to the third upon his entering college, and says that he had received similar instructions from his father. They have much of the religious enthusiasm of the age, but are otherwise admirable. The quotation of Proverbs xiv. 23 is particularly impressive, and should be printed on the memory of every man throughout life.

September 24th. In the evening I read several of Madame du Deffand's letters. It belongs probably to the effect of age upon the taste and judgment that these letters are more interesting to me than any novel. They are records of realities. In youth it was directly the reverse—fairy-tales, the Arabian Nights, fictitious adventures of every kind, delighted me. And the more there was in them of invention, the more pleasing they were. My imagination pictured them all as realities, and I dreamed of enchantments as if there was a world in which they existed. At ten years of age I read Shakspeare's "Tempest," "As you Like it," "Merry Wives of Windsor," "Much Ado about Nothing," and "King Lear." The humors of Falstaff scarcely affected me at all. Bardolph and Pistol and Nym were personages quite unintelligible to me; and the lesson of Sir Hugh Evans to the boy William was too serious an affair. But the incantations of Prospero, the loves of Ferdinand and

Miranda, the more than ethereal brightness of Ariel, and the worse than beastly grossness of Caliban, made for me a world of revels, and lapped me in Elysium. With these books, in a closet of my mother's bed-chamber, there was also a small edition, in two volumes, of Milton's Paradise Lost, which, I believe, I attempted ten times to read, and never could get through half a book. I might as well have attempted to read Homer before I had learnt the Greek alphabet. I was mortified, even to the shedding of solitary tears, that I could not even conceive what it was that my father and mother admired so much in that book, and yet I was ashamed to ask them an explanation. I smoked tobacco and read Milton at the same time, and from the same motive—to find out what was the recondite charm in them which gave my father so much pleasure. After making myself four or five times sick with smoking, I mastered that accomplishment, and acquired a habit which, thirty years afterwards, I had much more difficulty in breaking off. But I did not master Milton. I was nearly thirty when I first read the Paradise Lost with delight and astonishment. But of late years I have lost the relish for fiction. I see nothing with sympathy but men, women, and children of flesh and blood. Madame du Deffand's suppers afford me savory food, and I was charmed this evening with her picture of the Lucan family sending a piano to her apartments, the father making his daughters play and sing an hour or two, Lady Stormont joining in the concert, the piano and the children being then sent home, and leaving a party to sup. The visit of Dr. Franklin and Silas Deane, with Mr. Le Roi, is also very amusing; and her remark that all the company were in favor of the Americans excepting herself and Mr. De Guignes, who were for the Court, is more interesting to me than ten volumes of Waverleys. Can philosophy tell me why this is so?

25th. I wrote a letter to Judge Story, for which I had very cogent motives, but the consequences of which are with a higher power. I intend it as introductory to a correspondence with him, which may influence his career and lectures as professor of law at Cambridge. But I know not how he will receive it. My experience has taught me to distrust deeply my

own foresight in the relation of effects with their causes. My father's letter of 12th October, 1755, to Nathan Webb was the immediate occasion of my now having read Cicero de Amicitiâ. The dialogue is between Lælius and his two sons-in-law, Mutius Scævola and Fannius. Cicero tells Atticus that in his youth, by direction of his father, he frequented much Scævola the Augur, and after his death the Pontiff Mutius Scævola, whom he pronounces the brightest genius and most upright Roman of his time. He adds that one day, on the occasion of a violent quarrel between Pompey while Consul and Publius Sulpicius, then a Tribune of the people, who till then had been his most intimate friend, Scævola, sitting in his Hemicycle and conversing with friends, among whom Cicero was present, upon this rupture, which caused great excitement in the city, repeated the purport of a discourse of Lælius upon friendship many years before, a few days after the death of his friend Scipio. Cicero says he had retained in his memory this narrative of Scævola, and, as Atticus had often urged him to write upon friendship, he thought he could not more effectually comply with this request than by introducing Lælius as the speaker on that subject, and writing from memory what Scævola had reported him to have said. How ingenious and beautiful a frame for a dissertation! But I have no time for further comment here.

WASHINGTON, *December* 30th.—I returned several visits, leaving cards. Met Count Menou, the Chargé d'Affaires from France, at the door of Baron Stackelberg, the Chargé d'Affaires from Sweden. A new Minister, by the name of Roux de Rochelle, is coming out from France. The only person whom I found at home was Mrs. Rush, and while I was there General Mason came in. They have just received letters from Mr. Rush, at London, of 24th November, announcing his success in obtaining a loan of one million of dollars for the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company at Amsterdam. He had failed to obtain it in England. And he writes to Mrs. Rush that he proposes to embark on his return to this country the 16th of this month. General Mason mentioned letters received from his son John, who has been Secretary of Legation to Mr. Poin-

sett, in Mexico. The Mexican Government finally demanded the recall of Mr. Poinsett, which was immediately granted, and Colonel Antony Butler was sent as Chargé d'Affaires to take his place.

Mrs. Rush spoke about the paragraph in the President's message against the bank, and about Mrs. Eaton, wife of the Secretary of War, now the centre of much political intrigue and controversy. Mrs. Eaton is the daughter of a man named O'Neal, who some years since kept a tavern and failed, so that his house was sold to pay his debts. Mrs. Eaton was wife to a purser in the navy, named Timberlake, who being on service in the Mediterranean squadron, his wife lived at her father's, where Mr. Eaton and General Jackson, when a Senator, were lodgers. When O'Neal's house was sold, it was purchased by Mr. Eaton. About a year and a half since, Timberlake died, and very shortly after Eaton married his widow. Her reputation was not in good odor; and last spring, when Eaton was appointed Secretary of War, a grave question arose among the dignitaries, high and low, of the Administration, whether Mrs. Eaton was to associate with their wives. This question has occasioned a schism in the party, some of whom have more, and some less, of moral scruple; the Vice-President's wife, Mrs. Calhoun, being of the virtuous, and having then declared that rather than endure the contamination of Mrs. Eaton's company she would not come to Washington this winter; and accordingly she remains in the untainted atmosphere of South Carolina. I told Mrs. Rush that this struggle was likely to terminate in a party division of Caps and Hats.

Day. At the close of the year the only sentiment that I feel to be proper is of humble gratitude to God for the blessings with which it has been favored. Its chastisements have been most afflictive, but I have experienced mercy with judgment. The loss of power and of popular favor I could have endured with fortitude, and relief from the slavery of public office was more than a compensation for all the privations incident to the loss of place. Its vanities I despised, and its flatteries never gave me a moment of enjoyment. But my beloved son! Mysterious Heaven! let me bow in submission to thy will. Let

me no longer yield to a desponding or distressful spirit. Grant me fortitude, patience, perseverance, and active energy, and let thy will be done![1]

January 1st, 1830.—As I went out this morning, I found the weather had cleared off, with a very light frost: the day was uncommonly fine. I had no expectation of visitors, and anticipated that I might commence the year with some occupation in which I could persevere through the year, should my days and health be so far prolonged. I was first called down to Mr. Gallatin, who told me that his public service in preparing the documents to be laid before the King of the Netherlands was now completed; that it finished yesterday, and that he proposed to leave the city to-morrow to return to his family at New York. He brought with him a collection of the printed statements made by this Government and that of Great Britain to the King of the Netherlands upon the Eastern Boundary controversy. He said there was one more statement, not yet printed, but which, when ready, he would send to me. He said his residence was in Pennsylvania, but he had taken up a temporary abode in New York, for the sake of Mrs. Gallatin, who wished to be near her mother, now eighty-six years old. Mr. Gallatin was followed by a succession of visitors till near four o'clock. Some of the above were by cards, and several from whom I should not have expected cards, and whose objects in sending them are doubtful.

2d. The sun rose this morning not perfectly clear, but with so little of haziness at the horizon that I saw his first emerging beam, a case which at this season happens not one day in six. The visitors of this day consumed most of the morning, from breakfast till dinner. General Macomb and Commodore Hull, who is now stationed in command of the navy-yard at this place, came, and informed me that they, together with General John P. Van Ness, were appointed a committee from the sub-

[1] Mr. Adams had in the early part of the year met with the loss of his eldest son, George, under very painful circumstances. The references to it in the diary are frequent. But, as being expressions of grief purely domestic, in which later generations can be expected to take but feeble interest, it has been thought most proper to confine his allusions to the subject to this single but expressive paragraph.

scribers to a ball on the 8th of January to invite my attendance; and that General Van Ness would have come with them, but was confined by illness to his bed. I desired them to return my thanks to the subscribers for their invitation, and express to them my regret that, owing to the present circumstances of my family, I must decline attendance at any public company. The invitation itself surprised me. I suppose it a well-intended proposition of General Macomb as a compliment to me, and as an effort to give the ball itself some color of a celebration not entirely sycophantic.

I had been desirous of having some conversation with Baron Krudener, but we were so repeatedly interrupted that we had the opportunity to say very little. He told me that he had been specially instructed by the Emperor to communicate to me his sentiments of entire satisfaction and of gratitude at the management and character of the relations between the United States and Russia during my Administration, and that the only wish which the Emperor could entertain with regard to those relations would be, that the same spirit should prevail during the Administration of my successor.

I desired him to make known to the Emperor my sensibility to the favorable estimate he had made of my intentions; and I added that I had felt an urgent inclination to tell him how much pleasure I had taken in the splendid success of the Emperor's career since his accession to the crown. At the same time, I could not withhold my testimonial of affectionate attachment to the memory of the Emperor Alexander. I said, further, that I was persuaded the friendly course of policy towards Russia pursued by the preceding Administration would be continued by the present.

He was not altogether satisfied of this.

I told him that our political opinions were sometimes a little too much biassed by English literature and politics, but that the general sentiments of the people of this country upon this subject were sound.

He said he thought so, but he had perceived an earnestness of anxiety to court the favor of Great Britain, which had given him much uneasiness. He had seen a number of speculations

in newspapers upon the military movements of the Emperor, full of the rankest prejudices and malevolence of the English, and all in the papers devoted to the present Administration. After enduring this patiently for some time, he had thought it best to go and have an explanation about it with Mr. Van Buren. He was just going to tell me the purport of this conference, when Bishop Chase came in, soon afterwards followed by Mr. Taylor, and the Baron took leave, saying that he would call and see me again. I asked him if he had any published memoirs or narrative of the transactions of Russia since the accession of the Emperor Nicholas; but he had not, nor even a copy of the Treaty of Ackermann.

3d. William Lee came about nine in the evening, and spent two hours with me. He arrived last evening from New York, and told me he saw Mr. Gallatin the evening before last at Baltimore. He says Gallatin spoke to him slightingly of the President and members of the Administration, commented upon the President's obstinacy and ignorance, and said if Jefferson had treated him as Jackson treats all the members of his Cabinet, he would immediately have resigned his office. Lee told me also that Mrs. Huygens had told him of her refusal at Baron Krudener's party to go to the supper-room with Mr. Eaton, the Secretary of War, and of the Baron's expostulation with her upon her refusal. She has now sent out cards for an evening party herself, to which Mr. and Mrs. Eaton are not invited.

I read but little this day, and wrote little. But yesterday I began the sketch of a chapter for Blunt's Annual Register, which now for two months must supersede almost everything else, and which I have rashly undertaken. I have borrowed Gibbon's History, from the Department of State, and the English Annual Register for 1827. I have barely commenced reading Gibbon's fiftieth chapter, and already slacken in the reading of Cicero's Orator. I met this morning one of the most striking and beautiful passages in that treatise—where, in a single paragraph of the twenty-sixth section, he gives the rules and restrictions under which the orator should use the weapon of ridicule. In this, as well as in the dialogues

"De Oratore," and that "De claris Oratoribus," he often repeats the precept of enlivening eloquence with pleasantry.

4th. Mr. Johnson called this morning, and Mr. Sprague, the Senator from Maine, with Mr. Daveis, heretofore employed as an agent by the Governor of Maine to go into the province of New Brunswick upon the affair of the arrest and imprisonment of John Baker; and who is now going to the Netherlands as a messenger with dispatches, to carry the definitive statement relating to the Boundary question, to be laid before the King. Mr. Daveis asked me a great many questions upon this subject, to which he has apparently paid great attention. He asked, especially, whether the British Plenipotentiaries at Ghent had intimated any design on the part of their Government to claim the boundary line to which they now pretend.

I assured him they had not; that they were very desirous of drawing a new line, but did not pretend that the old one would answer their purpose.

Mr. Daveis mentioned also an opinion expressed by Mr. Gallatin in his letter to Mr. Monroe of 25th December, 1814, which, he said, the British statement had ingeniously availed itself of and turned against our claim; and he observed that there was now in our statement a letter from Mr. Gallatin declaring that he had been mistaken in the former letter.

I wrote this morning and evening upon the Russian and Turkish war paper, but perceive my incompetency to write worthily of the theme. I read part of Gibbon's fiftieth chapter, which gives an abridged account of the life of Mahomet. I never can read this author without indignation. Yet his irony, his bitter indifference, and his art of insinuation may be studied to advantage. His keenest sarcasms upon Christianity and the Bible are in distant allusions. His philosophy is shallow, and always infected with anti-religious acrimony.

5th. I paid a visit to Baron Krudener, and spent an hour with him in conversation upon Russia and Turkey. He had over his mantel-piece a portrait of the Emperor Nicholas, which he said was an excellent likeness, and in which he has apparently eleven or twelve years more upon his head than when I last saw him in England. I told him that I expected

and hoped great things from him for the benefit of mankind. I hoped he would expel the Turks from Russia, and at least make great advances towards the extinction of the Mahometan imposture. I regretted that he had now stopped short of Constantinople; but, as the Emperor had yet the prospect of a long reign before him, it would be impossible for him to remain long at peace with the Turks. The power of Russia was great, and was in his hands. I hoped and believed it was given him by Providence for good purposes, and there was none, in my belief, more wise and good than that of the total expulsion of the Turks from Europe, and at least securing protection and the freedom of religious worship to Christians in every part of the Mahometan dominions.

He did not appear to think this an extravagant idea; but he feared the jealousies and animosities of the other European powers, especially of Great Britain. He spoke of the Emperor with great affection; said he was entirely devoted to his duties; that he led a laborious life; had no mistress; no extravagant or expensive taste; delighted to pass his leisure time in the bosom of his family; wasted none of it in hunting; and instead of seizing the opportunity of acquiring personal military glory in the recent campaign, he had deliberately remained at home and suffered General Diebitsch to gather all its laurels. The Baron gave me a summary of the events of the reign, from the Embassy of the Duke of Wellington to compliment him and settle the affairs of Greece, to the Treaty of Ackermann, to the protocol of 4th April, 1826; then to the Treaty of London of 6th July, 1827; the battle of Navarino, and the Turkish manifesto against Russia, whence down to the present moment, he said, the policy of Great Britain had produced the effect which they had specially intended to prevent. He promised me a file of the French Journal of St. Petersburg for the last year.

This conversation gave me something like a clue to the events of which I am to pursue the thread. While we were at dinner, Mr. Gerry came in, and in great agitation told us that the President had yesterday sent to the Senate a nomination of General McNeill as Surveyor of the port of Boston in his place; and that when he went to him this day and reminded him of

his promise, he flew into a passion, denied that he had made him any promise, and ordered him out of his house for his impertinence in circulating a report that he had. General Hayne, the Senator from South Carolina, was present, and advised Gerry to take this answer as conclusive. Gerry went to Ingham, who at first refused to see him, and, when he did receive him, sullenly refused to give him any reason but that offices were not hereditary. Gerry supported from the emoluments of his office his mother and four unmarried sisters. His father was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and died Vice-President of the United States. His distress was great, and affected me deeply. He said he should go for Boston tomorrow morning.

7th. Mr. Fendall paid me a morning visit, and spoke of the contested election between Arnold and Lea, now in discussion before the House of Representatives. Arnold has been an intrepid adversary to General Jackson in Tennessee, and lost the election in his district only by a majority of two hundred and seventeen votes. He comes to contest the election against a majority in the House, inaccessible to anything but party discipline. Fendall says he made a powerful speech yesterday, but it was to deaf ears. Fendall mentioned to me the author of the letters in the newspapers signed "Kremer" and addressed to John Randolph. The last gives a burlesque account of Baron Krudener's late ball, with cutting severity upon Mrs. Eaton. Eaton's card published on Monday takes no notice of this letter, but refers to another published in sundry opposition papers and implicating Eaton in the supposed defalcation of Purser Timberlake. The card says that if a responsible name shall appear to support the charge, measures will forthwith be taken to unfold the conspiracies in which it originated and to prove the author a base calumniator. Fendall says that another letter to "Kremer" will appear. I told him I thought the writer would do well to prepare for other controversy than that of newspapers. The charge against Eaton is blasting to his character. The imputations upon his wife are deeply defamatory. The case is of a nature to drive him to desperation; and assassination or a deadly duel is the natural termination of

such a course of incidents as are now in progress. Neither Mr. nor Mrs. Eaton was invited to the party given last evening by Mrs. Huygens, the Dutch Minister's wife. There was a drawing-room this evening at the President's.

9th. I have now books and papers more than I know how to use to best advantage for composing the chapter of the American Annual Register upon the recent war between Turkey and Russia. I have Gibbon's History; the English Annual Registers of 1827 and 1828, and the American Annual Register of 1825–6 and 1827; the Modern Traveller, two volumes upon Turkey; the History of the Ottoman Empire, two volumes; and files and slips of newspapers for the last year upon Turkish and Russian affairs. I read chaotically something from all, but without methodizing to my satisfaction the information that I obtain. My plan for the chapter is in my mind, but I am scarcely able to write a page of it every day. But I have made the promise to prepare the chapter, and it is too late to retract. The danger is of its falling flat from the press; but it affords me an opportunity of giving my sentiments to the public upon a subject of vast importance.

12th. With Mr. Johnston, a Senator from Louisiana, I had a conversation upon politics, which resolve themselves still into intrigues for the next Presidential election. Johnston thinks there are three divisions of the Administration party: one of General Jackson and his friends who wish for his re-election, one for Mr. Van Buren, and one for Calhoun. That Van Buren sees he cannot eight years long discharge the duties of the Department of State; that he must succeed at the end of the four years or not at all, and that he and his friends insist that Jackson has given a pledge that he would not serve longer than one term; that Calhoun is equally impatient, and much disposed, though afraid, to declare himself against the leading measures of the present Administration. But Mr. Johnston supposes that if Mr. Clay's friends were to bring him forward as a candidate it would close all the cracks of the Administration party and rivet them together again.

I closed the evening by a conversation with Baron Krudener, in which, with a view to acquiring information concerning the

Turkish and Russian war, I asked him many questions, and gathered some further particulars of knowledge of the subject. I enquired of the present state of Greece, which is yet precarious and unsettled.

He spoke in terms of high esteem of Capo d'Istrias.

I told him I regretted much the basis assumed by the three mediatorial powers, of holding Greece to the servitude of paying tribute to the Turks. I thought it unjust in principle, and, if it was even justifiable, all claim to it had been forfeited by the obstinate refusal of the Sultan to admit the intervention of the three powers, and by the exterminating war that he had continued to carry on against Greece till the battle of Navarino. I said I was convinced that Russia would be compelled to recommence the war, and that so it would be until the Turks should be expelled from Europe. I supposed it highly probable that the peace would be followed by internal convulsions in the Turkish Government, in which Russia would find it impossible to avoid interposing; in which opinions he concurred. But he complained of the jealous policy of the European allies against Russia—of Austria, France, Great Britain; but said Prussia would become the great preponderating power in the North of Germany. He said also that if Mr. Canning had not died as he did, there would probably have been a war between Russia and England. Mr. Canning, he said, was a far more impetuous politician than the Duke of Wellington.

I mentioned to the Baron the profound religious impressions of the Emperor Alexander during the latter years of his life, and asked him when and how they had originated. He said it was from his interviews with the Queen of Prussia, before the Peace of Tilsit, at the time when the city of Memel was all that was left of the Prussian monarchy; that his (Krudener's) mother was then at Memel, and frequently saw the Queen of Prussia, but not then the Emperor; that the religious enthusiasm of the Emperor had afterwards been much inflamed by the work of a German named Stilling, and that before the death of Alexander his mind had been affected to a degree that advantage was taken of it by fanatics or impostors, who went to him with pretended messages from God, or from Jesus

Christ, which, without crediting them altogether, he did not with sufficient decision reject.

13th. Mr. Dorsey, a member of the House of Representatives from Maryland, paid me a morning visit. His daughter was married last week to a member of the House from South Carolina, W. D. Martin. He intimated to me that this connection had produced no effect upon his political sentiments; but from the general tenor of his conversation I was strongly impressed with the belief that it had converted him to the Calhounite faith; and so I have no doubt it will prove. Mr. Dorsey spoke with much bitterness against Arnold, the petitioner from Tennessee, to set aside the return of Pryor Lea; and appeared to approve the proposition of the Secretary of the Navy to stop entirely the further building of line-of-battle ships.

I gave him very decidedly my opinion, quite to the reverse of this.

Mr. Monroe, formerly the Lieutenant, arrived from New York with Mrs. Gouverneur, who has come to meet her father, the late President Monroe, here. He was expected from Richmond, but has not yet arrived. Mr. Connell arrived about three weeks since from Europe, having been at Copenhagen since I saw him last spring at Meridian Hill. He has not succeeded in effecting the settlement of claims upon the Danish Government for which he went out.

14th. I called upon Baron Krudener, and had a long conversation with him upon Russian affairs. He had mentioned to me the protocol of a conference between the three Ministers of the powers mediating in the affairs of Greece of the 22d of March last, which, he told me, had been accepted by the Porte. He had promised to show it to me. I now asked him if he had any papers exhibiting the progress and conclusion of the war between Russia and Persia, which followed immediately after the accession of the Emperor Nicholas to the throne, and particularly the treaty of peace on the conclusion of the war.

He said to me that the foundations of the friendly relations which subsisted so cordially between Russia and the United States had been laid by my mission to the Emperor Alexander; that the policy and the feelings of the present Emperor were

entirely the same as those of his brother had been; that he had taken great satisfaction in the happy state of those relations, and that he regretted the disposition of the Government of the United States was not now so friendly towards Russia as it had been. He complained of a paragraph in the President's message; of articles in the New York Enquirer, Mr. Van Buren's particular paper; and of many other incidents which he considers as manifestations of temper. He thinks the present Administration excessively anxious to conciliate the favor of Great Britain, and is apprehensive that in order to acquire a predominating influence here, to put down our manufacturing interest, and to inflame the violent sectional passions of the country, they will make great sacrifices—restore to us the intercourse with their West Indian Colonies, and even yield to us the navigation of the St. Lawrence.

I told him that I had no doubt the British Government would do all they could, but that they would find it very difficult to manage their own people. As to the West India trade, I expected they would soon be forced to give up that, as the operation of the interdict must necessarily be ruinous to their islands, as it always had been; but I expected that in yielding it they would obtain equivalents which neither the people of this country nor the necessary majority of two-thirds of the Senate would approve.

The Baron told me that he had asked leave of absence on account of his health, which he expected soon to receive, and to go away in the course of two or three months. He had intended to seek employment elsewhere, though he was sincerely attached to this country, having been received and treated here with great and universal kindness. But the relations between the two countries were growing less cordial and more delicate. He was conscious that he had not the talents necessary for the management of them.

I told him I should regret very much his departure from this country, if it should be not to return, though it would afford me great pleasure to learn his advancement. But, if he should not return, I hoped the Emperor would send here a person like himself, or like his immediate predecessor, Baron Tuyl. I

could not say precisely the same of *his* predecessor, Poletica, of whom I wished to express no unkind sentiment, but who, I believed, might be more usefully employed anywhere else than here.

He spoke well of Poletica, but admitted that he had prejudices in relation to this country. The Baron sent me this evening the treaty of peace with Persia, the protocol of 22d March, 1829, and several other diplomatic papers.

15th. I received last week a letter from Gershom Powers, Chairman of the Committee of the House of Representatives upon the District of Columbia, addressing to me thirty questions respecting the administration of the municipal laws in the District, scarcely one of which I was able to answer, although they might be answered by any practising lawyer or by any of the Judges of the Circuit Court. Some of them, however, are of a political nature, and two respecting the expediency of an Act of Congress establishing a Territorial Legislature. I do not think this measure either necessary or proper; but, as I am not a permanent resident in the District, and as among the inhabitants it is a party question, I was unwilling to give any opinion concerning it. I could not avoid it, however, without declining to answer the enquiries of the committee altogether.

16th. Mr. Hodgson called upon me this morning, a young man whom in the summer of the year 1825 I sent to Algiers, there to learn the Oriental languages. He had an extraordinary facility at learning languages, and had already made some progress in the Hebrew, Arabic, and Persian; and we were in this country so destitute of persons versed in the Oriental languages that we could not even procure a translation of any paper which occasionally came to us in Arabic. He has been absent about four years, and has acquired the Arabic, Turkish, the Lingua Franca, and the Berber, a language concerning which he has made very interesting discoveries. He remained as Chargé d'Affaires at Algiers from the time when Shaler came away till the arrival of Henry Lee as Consul, and returned here a few days since. He told me that he had seen the President and Mr. Van Buren, but did not know whether they proposed to give him any further employment or not.

He said he had brought home some valuable books and manuscripts relating to the Oriental languages, which had cost him about fifteen hundred dollars, which he had hoped would be taken by the Department of State, but he might now find it difficult to dispose of them. I advised him to speak of it to Mr. Daniel Brent, and, if he should think it expedient, to Mr. Van Buren, and also to obtain from the Treasury Department the order for the admission of the books free of duties.

At half-past one I went to the Capitol, and heard Mr. Everett, in the hall of the House of Representatives, deliver the anniversary address to the Columbian Institute. The hall was crowded with company, a large portion of ladies. I sought at first a seat without the bar of the House, but Dr. Huntt found me, and urged me till I took a chair on the floor, just below the steps to the Speaker's chair. Mr. Calhoun, the Vice-President, and Mr. Martin, a member of the House of Representatives, came up and spoke to me. There was a small meeting of the Institute in their apartment, whence they came to the hall. Mr. Thomas Law presided, and among the members who came up were J. M. Berrien, the Attorney-General, and Samuel D. Ingham, Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Berrien greeted me with a distant salutation, which I returned as distantly. Ingham advanced as if intending to accost me, but I barely turned my eye upon him, and he slunk back with the look of a detected thief. There is a portrait of Ingham in Caracci's picture of the Lord's Supper. Mr. Everett's discourse occupied just an hour. It was literary, philosophical, scientific, and popular; an exposition of the character and usefulness of societies such as the Columbian Institute; a description of many of the most important modern inventions and discoveries, and of the manner in which they have been made, with several interesting anecdotes relating to the discoverers and inventors. He confined his subject to the physical sciences, and did not enter upon the consideration of moral or political discovery. That is a wide field yet open, and worthy to be explored. He noticed the simplicity of many of the great discoveries; how nearly every human being approaches to them, and yet the application of mind necessary for their disclosure; and he argued

the moral certainty that nature had yet in store numerous secrets in reserve for the favorites who will devote their lives to the search of them. He introduced also a powerful appeal to the beneficence of Congress in behalf of the family of Fulton.

Two things in the discourse I regretted to hear: one, a seeming admission that the power of giving encouragement to literature and science was much greater at least in the State Governments than in that of the Union; the other, an apparent reflection upon the Supreme Court of the United States, who, he said, by a decision, had scattered the fortune of Fulton to the four winds of heaven.

17th. After the morning service I had for two hours a succession of visitors. First, Mr. White, of Florida, who began to tell me of his recent conference with the President upon the removals from office and substituted appointments under this Administration, to the number of twelve. At a former interview with White, the Hero had bristled into a passion, and treated White so rudely that he had determined to hold no further intercourse with him; but now he sent for him to consult him with regard to the objections against his appointments. They are all bad, and extremely odious to the people of the Territory. White was repeating to me the characters which he gave of them, one after the other, to the General; and if he had extracted the quintessence of all the penitentiaries of the Union to represent the virtues of the Government in Florida, he could not have made the appointments worse. But, before White had got half through with his narration, other visitors came in, and he went away. Mr. S. H. Smith came, and introduced his son.

White says that the plantation of live-oaks that I caused to be formed near Pensacola is in an extremely flourishing condition; that Branch, the present Secretary of the Navy, wanted to put it down with the other naval establishments, and sent Commodore Rodgers to make a report upon it; but that the report was so highly favorable to it that it has been suffered to live.

Messrs. Wirt, Swann, and Rogers came together, and also Mr. Everett with Mr. Fales. I asked Mr. Everett why he had not yesterday touched upon discoveries in morals and politics.

He said he had in his written discourse, but that Dr. Huntt had admonished him not to be too long, and he had omitted what would have taken him about twenty minutes more to deliver.

I received a note from Mr. Ringgold, written last evening, informing me that Mr. Monroe was at his house, and I immediately went to see him. General Mason and General Jessup were there, and Mr. White, a member of the House of Representatives from Louisiana, came in. Mr. Monroe had been dangerously ill, and, although convalescent, is much emaciated. He spoke of the labors of the Virginia Convention, which has at last adjourned, after agreeing, fifty-five to forty-six, to a project of Constitution to be submitted to the people.

18th. Mr. Duval, the Governor of Florida, Mr. Baldwin, the new Judge of the Supreme Court, Mr. Torlade, the Chargé d'Affaires from Don Miguel, the soi-disant King of Portugal, with his Secretary of Legation, whom he introduced to me, and Mr. Fendall, paid me morning visits. They absorbed the day from breakfast till dinner. Mr. Duval professed with anxiety friendly and respectful sentiments for me—I suppose, with sincerity. He obtained partly by my influence the Government of Florida from Mr. Monroe; he was re-appointed by my nomination, and has been a uniform and by no means silent partisan of General Jackson; chiefly because Jackson was the enemy of Mr. Clay. Duval is conscious of the meanness of his conduct to me, and thinks to delude me, as he perhaps deludes himself, by professions of general respect, and by assurances that he never spoke disrespectfully of me. I received, perhaps two years since, an anonymous letter, asserting that he did speak of me much otherwise. He told me this day that he knew the person who wrote me that letter; that it was a man whom he had checked at his own table for speaking of me with extreme bitterness himself. He also told me that it was the appointment of Mr. Clay as Secretary of State that had lost to my Administration the support of all the Western States. This I do not believe; but it did not gain the support of the Western States.

I saw that Mr. Duval wished to raise an unfriendly feeling in me against Mr. Clay, but I did not incline to let him imagine he

had succeeded. I told him I had nominated Mr. Clay to take the office of Secretary of State because he had been a prominent candidate for the Presidency, for which he had received the vote of his own and of other Western States, and because I believed him the man of the Union best fitted for the place of Secretary of State; and his execution of its duties had confirmed me in that opinion; that before this time I had been engaged at different periods in public affairs with Mr. Clay, and had thought that his treatment of me had not been friendly. I had even believed that he had encouraged the base attacks of Jonathan Rûssell upon me. I now believed he had not, at least to the extent that I had supposed. I had been so ill treated by every public man whom circumstances had brought into competition with me, that I was in the habit of making allowances for them; that Mr. Crawford, Mr. Calhoun, General Jackson, and De Witt Clinton had all treated me with gross injustice, and all in return for acts of kindness and services on my part. For I could say, in the presence of heaven and earth, that I had never done any one of them wrong.

He said he was thoroughly convinced that I had never done any man wrong.

Judge Baldwin paid me a short visit. This is another politician of equivocal morality, but I hope will make a more impartial judge. I told him I had been gratified by his appointment—which was true; because I had dreaded the appointment of Gibson, the Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, precisely the most unfit man for the office in the Union. Baldwin made as many professions of respect for my character as Duval; said there had never been any other difference between us but upon politics; that he never should forget a conversation that he had with me one day at Colonel Bomford's, at the time of the Missouri question; and that he had always done me justice in relation to that subject, as Mr. Clay could inform me.

Mr. Torlade introduced Mr. Freitas to me, as Secretary to Don Miguel's Legation, and complained that, although recognized as the diplomatic representative of Portugal, he had not yet recovered the archives of the Legation from Mr. Barroso Pereira. He said that he wanted them chiefly for the

documents in several cases of vessels captured by Baltimore privateers, for which some of his predecessors had improperly advanced absurd claims upon the Government of the United States, which could not be responsible for such acts; but he wanted the documents to make claim of restitution by individuals and before the public tribunals.

We had much conversation upon other subjects—Sweden, Russia, and former days.

19th. I called upon Baron Krudener, and had a conversation of more than two hours with him upon the affairs of Russia and Greece and Turkey. I asked him if he had the Treaty of Gulistan, between Russia and Persia, of 12th October, 1813—which he afterwards sent me in the eighth volume of the supplement to Martens's Collection of Treaties, p. 89. It was only published by a proclamation of the Emperor Alexander of 16th July, 1818. I asked also for the Commercial Treaty said by an article of the Treaty of Tourkmantchai to be annexed to it; but he said he had received none. And I asked if the protocol of the 22d of March, 1829, was a public document. He did not know that it had been made entirely public, but mentioned that it had been formally stipulated in an article of the Treaty of Peace of Adrianople, 14th September, 1829, which had given umbrage to Great Britain.

I told him that I should speak my sentiments to him with candor as a private citizen, and no responsibility whatever being attached to them. I thought it would be impossible to carry into execution the principles of the protocol of 22d March, 1829; and asked how it would be possible to impose a perpetual annual tribute upon a people ruined, as are the Greeks, to a Government of which they were professedly to be made independent. I said, too, that I should have been more satisfied if, instead of stipulating that the Greeks should have a monarchical Government, they had been suffered to choose for themselves.

He said that as to the tribute, he had no doubt Count Capo d'Istrias would make the strongest representations against it. For the rest, I knew the prejudices against liberal principles in all the monarchical Governments of Europe, but I could not

imagine the extent to which they were carried by Austria; that for a series of years Prince Metternich had teased and importuned the Emperor Alexander until he had almost consented to a plan that the Swiss Cantons should be abolished and parcelled out among the neighboring monarchies; that he honestly believed he himself, being the Russian Minister in Switzerland at the time, had prevented this plan from being carried into execution. He enlarged much also upon the policy of Great Britain, and its inveterate hostility against Russia; upon the wavering, fluctuating policy of France; and upon the embarrassments of the Emperor Nicholas, thwarted and trammelled as he was by those three powers. He told me that he had given and should give to the Emperor a full and minute account of his conversations with me, and of the sentiments I had expressed in them. He said, too, that he had been instructed to communicate to Mr. Clay the grateful sense of the Russian Government for the friendly disposition manifested by him to Russia during the course of my Administration; that he had made the communication to Mr. Clay through his friend Mr. Letcher, and he had recently received the answer of Mr. Clay, expressing his satisfaction at the testimonial of esteem from the Emperor.

When I came home, I found cards from the ex-President, Mr. Monroe, Dr. Mease, C. F. Mercer, R. S. Rose, J. M. Goodenow, of Ohio, Captain G. W. Rodgers, of the navy, and Joseph M. White. Mr. White spent two hours of the evening with me. He took back the copy of the letter to Mr. Van Buren which he had sent me on Sunday evening, and informed me of the interviews he had had with the President, and with Van Buren, upon the removals and appointments to office in Florida. White first called upon the President and enquired for the reasons of the removal of twelve highly popular officers. The President flew into a passion; said he had been abused from Dan to Beersheba for his removals, and that not a single man had been removed but for oppression or defalcation. White then went to Van Buren, and, repeating what the President had said to him, asked him the specific instances of oppression or defalcation, that they might be made known to the

people of the Territory. Van Buren told him the President's recollection was at fault; that they gave no reasons for their removals.

White then applied to individual members of the Senate, giving them the characters of the new appointed officers, and pledging himself to prove the disgraceful facts that he laid to their charge. This was so far working upon the Senate that, three days since, the President's private Secretary wrote to White, requesting him to call upon the President that evening; which he did. The President then told him that he heard White had been making statements abroad against his appointments, and that he had complaints against them from others; that he had already revoked one of his appointments, and there was a Postmaster who, he thought, ought to be dismissed. But he wished Mr. White now to give him such information respecting them all as he thought proper. White then went through the list, and mentioned facts respecting almost every one of them, which showed them fitter candidates for a treadmill than for public office; to which the President listened with tolerable patience, and closed the interview by saying he would see to it. One of the worst appointments is the Secretary of the Territory, a protégé of M. Dickerson, from New Jersey, whose chief recommendation was his pandering to the malice both of Dickerson and of Jackson, by slandering Mr. Southard. He has been there long enough to make him universally odious, and the President now told White that if the appointment had not been made, he would not now nominate him; but as it was, he did not see how he could drop him. White prevailed upon Duval, the Governor, to go with him again to the President last evening and testify to the unfitness of the man; but without effect. White told me numerous anecdotes of current transactions, which mark a dissolute and dangerous state of society, but which it would consume too much time to record.

20th. Mr. Handy spoke of the troublesome controversy into which Mr. Campbell has been drawn about Mrs. Eaton. I told him I had heard many different accounts of that affair, but none that I could consider as authentic, and I knew not what

to believe concerning it. He said that before the inauguration of General Jackson last March, Ezra Styles Ely, a Presbyterian clergyman of Philadelphia, who had made himself very notorious as a partisan for Jackson, came here to congratulate him upon his triumph. He then saw here Mr. Campbell, who had been his pupil and intimate friend. In conversing with him about the appointments of heads of Departments, which were expected, Campbell told him that he hoped Mr. Eaton would not, as the rumor was, be appointed Secretary of War, as it would injure the character of the Administration, and then mentioned that Dr. , a physician of Georgetown, since deceased, had told him of facts discreditable to Mrs. Eaton. Mr. Ely made no use of this confidential communication at the time. The character of the woman was, however, so notorious that much opposition was made to the appointment of her husband, which, nevertheless, took place. In July last, however, Ely wrote to General Jackson a statement of what Campbell had communicated to him. Eaton then called upon Campbell for an explanation, and Campbell persisted in the statement he had made. Mrs. Eaton went to Philadelphia and was closeted with Ely. General Jackson wrote to Ely, requesting him to come here. He came, and he and Campbell were both summoned before a Cabinet meeting, where Campbell persisted in his statements, and was treated with great rudeness by the President. Afterwards Eaton and his wife had another meeting with Campbell, at which Campbell required that another person should be present. Eaton proposed Major Lewis—which Campbell declined, but proposed Colonel Towson. At this meeting Eaton positively denied what had passed between them at a former interview. He since challenged Campbell to fight him. Campbell declined, but proposed meeting him in a Court of justice. A correspondence ensued, in which Eaton's last letter threatened Campbell to insult him in the street.

Handy himself is a clerk in the Fourth Auditor's office, and he told me of Amos Kendall's threats to dismiss him, because he had published, with his name, some statement respecting my service and loan to the Presbyterian Church. He concluded, however, to spare him, and while Kendall was in Kentucky the

accounts of Timberlake, the purser, Mrs. Eaton's first husband, were sent to him. Among them were several letters from Eaton acknowledging the receipt of remittances from him. These remittances have not been credited to Timberlake, and he is a large defaulter to the Government. Handy put the letters, with Timberlake's accounts, into the hands of Kendall, whence they passed into those of Branch, Secretary of the Navy, of Ingham, Secretary of the Treasury, and of the President. They have now been returned to Kendall, and are in his possession. I believe it is excusable in me to know as little of these shameful true libels as possible.

Mr. Fendall called, and introduced Mr. Arnold, the petitioner against the election of Pryor Lea. The House have decided in favor of Lea's election, with a minority of only twenty votes.

21st. Mr. Webster was here in the evening, about half an hour before the drawing-room at the President's. He said there would be a very earnest debate in the Senate upon the President's nominations; and if it should prove, as he had been assured it would, that L. W. Tazewell, one of the Senators from Virginia, should not come, some of the nominations would be rejected. It was said to be ascertained that twenty-two Senators would vote against them. There is one vacancy by the death of Mr. Read, from Mississippi; one by the absence of G. M. Troup, of Georgia, suddenly called home by some domestic occurrence, and who has obtained leave of absence for the remainder of the session. Twenty-three Senators, Administration men, remain; and the defection of one of them would turn the scale against the nominations.

I told him if this was true the effect would be that they would purchase the attendance of Tazewell, who would sell it upon his own terms. As yet, in spite of all their internal dissensions, they hold together. In party dissensions the profligate league together more closely than the honest, for the very reason that individuals have no principles of their own to cling to. I believe that all the nominations of any importance will be confirmed. Mr. Webster said he would call upon me again in a few days, as he wished to converse with me upon the constitutional principles concerning removals from office. I

answered letters from Mr. Quincy, President of Harvard University, and from John Pierce, Secretary to the Board of Overseers, and advised them of my acceptance of a seat at the Board.

24th. I called upon Mr. J. W. Taylor, and had much conversation with him. He read me a part of a letter from Mr. Clay, written in November, in apparent very good spirits; and he mentioned the wish of Mr. Clay's friends here that he should now be assumed and proclaimed by the friends of the last Administration as their candidate for the next Presidential election. Taylor himself is not inclined to this, and says that Clay has not, and never had, any party in New York. But he thinks that the friends of the late Administration, for want of a leader, would range themselves under Van Buren or Calhoun.

I told him that I thought it would be fatal to the prospects of Mr. Clay if he should be first announced from this place, and that his first nomination should come from the West, and from his own State.

He said he had heard that Mr. Calhoun was attempting to turn the Anti-Masonic tempest to his account; but I believed he would not make much of that.

I said that I thought a new organization of parties with reference to the Presidency must take place; that questions will arise from the progress of this Administration which would divide the country; that in the discussion of these questions Mr. Clay may very probably take a lead, which will bring him conspicuously before the country; but that new men not yet known or thought of as candidates may be started and brought forward. In the foreign policy, the negotiations with England, and the project of taking Texas, may raise such questions. The public lands, the Indians, the overthrow of the tariff, the putting down of the navy, may produce them. There are combustibles enough: they only want kindling; and the torches are at hand.

He asked me if I thought the present Administration would attempt to put down the tariff.

I thought they would, and that the apparent adhesion of their party to it now was only to give it value in negotiation with England. They would probably obtain the revocation of

the British interdict upon our direct trade with their West India Islands, and perhaps the navigation of the St. Lawrence. The restoration of the West India trade would force itself upon the British Government by the sufferings of the islands themselves; the navigation of the St. Lawrence they would yield, because it would be for their own interests; but they would chaffer for them, because they know the present Administration want to obtain them as party measures; and they will exact an equivalent for them, which can only be at the expense of the tariff. Their only difficulty will be to obtain terms which two-thirds of the Senate will ratify.

Mr. Taylor seemed surprised at these opinions, and thought there was no danger for the tariff. He asked me why I thought there was a disposition to put down the navy.

I referred to the message, to the report of the Secretary of the navy, and to the proceedings now going on in Congress. I also expressed my opinions against the distribution to the States of the proceeds of the public lands, and especially against the exclusion of the application of them to purposes of internal improvements. Upon some of these points Mr. Taylor's opinions differ essentially from mine.

27th. This day I received the English Quarterly Review for November, 1829, which contains, cheek by jowl, two articles of vilification—one upon America and one upon Russia; one a review of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar and Captain Hall's travels, and the other of several recent publications upon Turkey. They are both full of rancorous English passions; but I had not time to read them through.

28th. I received a letter from J. B. Davis, at Boston, enclosing a statement made by William Sawyer, of Charlestown, before a magistrate, of the manner in which the Cunningham correspondence was published. It was a dirty job between the son of William Cunningham, Paul Willard, Jonathan Russell, Henshaw, now Collector at Boston, and Green, now the Postmaster. Sawyer advanced his money for the publication, and was finally left in the lurch by the associates. He wrote to Jonathan Russell last August, stating that the loss on the publication had been five hundred dollars, and calling on him for

his portion, or one-third of the contribution; but Russell did not answer his letter.

February 1st. I had a harassing day and evening; for, having reached, in my chapter upon the Russian and Turkish war, the period of the commencement of hostilities in May, 1828, I found myself almost entirely destitute of materials, having nothing but the English Annual Register of 1828 for the transactions of that campaign, and very much perplexed how to construct a narrative from that without making a servile copy of it. Baron Krudener had lent me a file of the French Journal of St. Petersburg from April till September, 1829, but it is quite incomplete, and has not even a regular series of the bulletins of the Russian army, nor does it come down to the conclusion of the treaty of peace at Adrianople, 14th September. The day and evening were swallowed up in a hasty glance over the Russian bulletins and dispatches, and I was yet not able to make out a thread even for a summary of events, nor could I write a line of my chapter. The day was gone, too, and I had not written a letter.

Read a few letters in the second book of Cicero's Epistles to Atticus; but my attention was so much distracted by my other enquiries that I more imperfectly understood these. Some of the letters are written from Rome—Atticus being in Greece, or Epirus—and some from Antium, Tres Tabernæ, and Formiæ, where Cicero had a farm—Atticus being at Rome. In one of the letters from Formiæ he humorously complains of being disturbed by a crowd of visitors. "My house," says he, "is a tavern bar-room, not a farm-house. Of the Formians in general I say nothing. They are not troublesome to me after ten in the morning. But here is my next neighbor, Caius Arrius; he has almost become my bedfellow. He absolutely refuses to return to Rome, for the sake of philosophizing with me every day and all day long. Then, on the other side, there is that Sebosus, the intimate friend of Catulus. Where shall I take refuge? Faith! I would forthwith start for Arpinum, if I had not reason to expect you here at Formiæ at least the day before the Nones of May. But only think to what men my ears are doomed to listen! A man might make a cheap purchase by an offer for my farm of Formiæ, now while these men

are with me. A fine time, truly, for 'great undertaking, of deep meditation, and leisure!' And yet it shall be done, and with no sparing of labor." This is his epistolary style—painting, characters, satire, sentiment, warm friendship, delicate compliment, ardent aspirations to great achievement, inflexible resolution to accomplish it, and persevering labor, all in the compass of six lines, expressed in the tone of familiar conversation and with perfect simplicity.

2d. I am arrested in my narrative of the Russian and Turkish war, and found I had nothing but the English Annual Register of 1828 to make it up. The file of the French Journal of St. Petersburg, sent me by Baron Krudener, is only of 1829, and very incomplete. I wrote to Mr. Brent, of the Department of State, requesting the loan of their file for the last two years, and he sent it; but it was much more incomplete than that of the Baron. I sent to the Baron's to enquire if he was at home, and to say that, if he was, I would call upon him. He immediately afterwards came to see me. I asked him if he had any narrative of the campaign of 1828 that he could lend me. He said he had a small French pamphlet of observations, written, he believed, by General Jomini, which he would send me. I asked also for the loan of a map—which he promised. He said he had mentioned to his Government the substance of his preceding conversations with me, and his wish to be furnished with documents relating to the Turkish war, to communicate to me, as I was engaged upon memoirs relating to my own political career. I repeated my thanks for his kindness, and said that in frankness I ought to tell him I had another object in view, besides what personally concerned myself, in the enquiries I was making of him. I could not now fully explain it to him, though I would hereafter. I trusted it was such as would not be disagreeable to his Government or to himself; which, he said, he did not doubt. I said I did not wish him to mention this to his Government, though I had thought proper to say so much to him, to account for the trouble I had repeatedly given him in asking information of him.

I spoke of the recent accounts from Europe. He had received nothing special, but said the Emperor had met with a

very serious accident. Having risen in the night upon hearing one of his children cry in the chamber next to his, going from one chamber to the other he had fallen, and struck his head on the floor. He had been several days ill, and was entirely recovered. He spoke of the affairs of Greece; and he thought it probable that Russia had assented that Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg should be the sovereign of Greece; that the consequence would be that Count Capo d'Istrias would retire, and that Prince Leopold would find himself in a hornets'-nest, in which he could not live. He said that this excessive anxiety of the British Government to keep Greece under their own control arose from the fear of losing the Ionian Islands, where, as well as at Malta, they were much detested.

6th. Colonel Chambers, Senator from Maryland, came with Mr. John Sergeant, of Philadelphia. Mr. Chambers told me that he proposed calling upon me to-morrow with an old acquaintance of mine, by the name of Gilpin. All the members of Congress are full of rumors respecting the volcanic state of the Administration. A busybody Presbyterian clergyman of Philadelphia, named Ezra Styles Ely, is the principal mischief-maker in the affairs of Mr. and Mrs. Eaton. He has been called here for the third time to pacify internal commotions. He was here several days, but went away without accomplishing anything. The President had determined to remove Branch, the Secretary of the Navy; but H. L. White, the Senator from Tennessee, and, it is said, Edward Livingston, went in deputation to the President, and informed him that if Mr. Branch should be dismissed the Senators from North Carolina would join the opposition, and all the dubious nominations now before the Senate would be rejected. He was also given to understand that Ingham, the Secretary of the Treasury, and Berrien, the Attorney-General, would resign. He concluded, therefore, to retain Mr. Branch, and became a mediator between him and Eaton, to bring them to speaking terms together. Such is their present state. Ingham, Branch, Berrien, Towson, have given large evening parties, to which Mrs. Eaton is not invited. On the other hand, the President makes her doubly conspicuous by an over-display of notice. At the last drawing-room, the

night before last, she had a crowd gathered round her, and was made the public gaze. But Mrs. Donelson, wife to the President's private Secretary, and who lives at the President's house, held no conversation with her. The Administration party is split up into a blue and a green faction upon this point of morals; but the explosion has been hitherto deferred. Calhoun heads the moral party, Van Buren that of the frail sisterhood; and he is notoriously engaged in canvassing for the Presidency by paying his court to Mrs. Eaton. He uses personal influence with the wives of his partisans to prevail upon them to countenance this woman by visiting her. There is a story current here, which, whether true or false, is significant of the general estimate of Van Buren's character. It is, that he asked for a private conversation with Mrs. Donelson, and for three-quarters of an hour urged her with pathetic eloquence to visit Mrs. Eaton; that she defended as well as she could her own course, but, being no match for him at sophisticating, she at last said, "Mr. Van Buren, I have always been taught that 'honesty is the best policy.'" Upon which he immediately started up, took his hat, and departed. Mrs. Eaton is as much a character as Van Buren. Dr. Sim and his wife are among her enemies. They live next door to her, and in a house leased by her husband. About a fortnight since, Mrs. Donelson was visiting Mrs. Sim, and Mrs. Eaton saw the carriage standing before the door. The next day Dr. Sim received notice from Eaton to quit forthwith the house, though his lease will not expire till next December. The story goes, that a day or two afterwards, Mrs. Eaton, telling her milliner, a Mrs. Williams, of the notice given to Dr. Sim to quit, said, "If it had not been for that d—d old granny, nothing of all this would have happened." Whether she spoke these or the like words on that occasion or not is uncertain, but it is her style of conversation; and there are many speeches of the same kind reported about the country as genuine examples of her ordinary discourse. Johns told me that when she went to Philadelphia first, last summer, she went to the same boarding-house where he was lodging; that his landlady asked him if he was acquainted with Mrs. Eaton, to which he answered that

he was not, and did not wish to be. The second time she went to Philadelphia, though Mrs. Barry, the Postmaster-General's wife, was with her, the same landlady declined receiving her.

7th. I called at Mrs. Blake's after the service, and there saw Messrs. Crowninshield and Whipple. J. Sergeant, and E. F. Chambers, D. J. Pearce, and Gilpin, afterwards came in, and Colonel Dwight as a visitor. Mr. Gilpin remembered his having met me in London in the year 1796, which I recollected, but not his person, which in thirty-four years has undergone as great a change as mine; and mine is such that no one knows me from the portrait painted of me by Copley that year, though it was then a very exact likeness.

10th. Mr. Holmes, member of the Senate from Maine, called, and mentioned that he intended to speak again upon this resolution of S. A. Foot's upon the public lands. Thomas H. Benton, a liar of magnitude beyond the reach of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, among his other proofs that Eastern men have always had a settled policy of hostility to the West, alleged in Senate, as he has been all last summer publishing in the Missouri newspapers, that I, in this spirit of hostility to the West, had given up to Spain the boundary of the Rio del Norte in the Florida Treaty. Holmes and S. Smith both, in replying to Benton, said that this treaty was made by Mr. Monroe and his Cabinet, and that they knew I was the last person who had consented to take the boundary of the Sabine. Holmes said he proposed to speak again upon the subject, and wished to allude to this fact again; and, to be sure of accuracy, he had called to enquire if I had a recollection of the facts in this case. I told him I had, and what they were; and I read to him the passages in my diary during the month of February, 1819, relating to that negotiation. I told him that in all the negotiations conducted by me while Secretary of State, whether with Spain, France, or England, I insisted invariably upon all the claims of the United States to their utmost extent; and whenever anything was conceded, it was by direction of the President himself, and always after consultation in Cabinet meetings, and that it was especially so in the negotiation of the Florida Treaty.

11th. In my walk this morning I met Chief-Justice Marshall near the head of the Avenue, and he walked down with me to its termination, opposite the yard of the Treasury Building. I asked him who, since the decease of the late Judge Washington, was the owner of President Washington's papers. He said he did not know, but that they were now in the possession of Mr. Sparks, who was to publish his letters, and some of the letters to him. I asked the Judge if there had ever been an adjudication in England of the *property* of epistolary correspondence. He knew of none. I mentioned the opinion or statement in a late number of the North American Review, that the property is in the writer of the letter, to whom, or to whose representatives, it ought to be returned after the decease of the receiver. He said he had formed no deliberate opinion upon the question, but that his first-made impression was that the property was in the receiver; a property qualified by the confidence of the writer.

I mentioned to him the extraordinary character of the recent publication of Mr. Jefferson's papers, which have given rise to a scene as extraordinary in the Senate of the United States. Jefferson makes a minute, 13th February, 1801, that Edward Livingston told him Bayard had offered Sam Smith the office of Secretary of War if he would vote for Burr—which W. C. Nicholas had confirmed. Mr. Jefferson's executor now publishes this minute. Hayne, last week, to gratify the malignity of his nature, reads from a volume of Jefferson's works his tale of my having told him that certain federalists in New England plotted a dismemberment of the Union during the war. No answer was made to this; but Clayton, a Senator from Delaware, read this minute about Bayard, and called upon Sam Smith and Edward Livingston to say whether it was true. Smith declared in the most explicit manner that neither Bayard nor any other man ever made any such proposal to him. Edward Livingston said he had tasked his memory to the utmost, and had been unable to recollect anything about it. Benton bristled up, and blustered about attempts to impeach the veracity of Mr. Jefferson. Clayton answered that his object was not to impeach the veracity of Mr. Jefferson, but to vindi-

cate the character of Mr. Bayard, and that he had attained his object; that Mr. Benton had chosen to fall into a furious passion about it, which to him (Clayton) was a matter of great indifference.

I said the most extraordinary part of this minute of Jefferson's was, that it was the direct reverse of the real fact, as Mr. Bayard had told me what passed at that interview between him and Smith. The Judge said he had also told it to him. He added that he himself had been here a witness of that scene, altogether indifferent upon which of the two men the choice of the House would fall; and that by comparing what he then saw with what afterwards came to pass, there were certain conclusions which it was very difficult to resist—but he did not say what they were. I suppose he meant that Livingston, who was then making his own bargain for his vote, told Jefferson this tale of Bayard's offers to Smith to make Jefferson outbid Burr for Livingston's own vote. Livingston was accordingly appointed District Attorney at New York, and in due time went off with a hundred thousand dollars of the public money to Louisiana, the judgment for which has never been paid till within the last six months.

15th. Mr. Bell, the Senator from New Hampshire, called on me with a subscription paper for a new edition of Belknap's history, with notes, by Mr. Farmer, of Concord, to which I readily put down my name. Mr. Bell spoke of the nominations to offices now before the Senate, and said that in the whole forty years since the Government of the United States has existed it would be impossible to collect a number of infamous and degraded characters in the list of officers of the United States equal to that in the list of nominations now before the Senate. He had hoped that the whole tribe of editors of newspapers would be rejected, for he thought it the most dangerous precedent that could be established, and if now sanctioned by the Senate he despaired of its ever being controlled hereafter. Possibly Isaac Hill might be rejected; he feared no other of the printers would be. Henry Lee, he believed, would be rejected: the evidence of his private life was accessible, and would, if necessary, be produced. But I very

strongly doubt whether any one of the nominations will be rejected. He said that with regard to the arbitrary removals from office, there was not an entire agreement between the opponents of the present Administration themselves as to the constitutional principle. He inclined to the opinion that the concurrence of the Senate to the removal may be inferred as necessary, because it is necessary for an appointment. But some were of opinion that the President had only the power of suspending an officer; and if the person whom he nominated as successor should be rejected by the Senate, then the previous incumbent still continued in office.

I said that the discretionary power of the President to remove was settled by law, and by the uniform practice of forty years. I thought it correctly settled; but if the discretion was palpably abused, I thought it impeachable misdemeanor. In questioning, however, this abuse of power, I thought it would be unsafe, and certainly unsuccessful, to advance any new principle.

He said there would be a call this day for the detected correspondence between Timberlake and Eaton, as bearing upon the nomination of Amos Kendall.

I told him I thought it doubtful whether the really significant letters would be sent if called for.

Mr. Bell told me that he was almost discouraged as to the permanency of our institutions, witnessing as he does the profligacy with which the Government is administered, and the tendency of all corruptions from bad to worse. My own hopes are better. I have seen this country once go through a political convulsion nearly as profligate as the present, and recover from it to pure and quiet elections. I hope that it may do so again. Every present symptom, indeed, is gloomy and discouraging—everything looks to decay, and not to improvement. Everything has an aspect of pulling down, and not of building up.

17th. Had a morning visit from General Harrison, late Minister Plenipotentiary to the republic of Colombia, recalled to make way for Tom P. Moore, a man generally despised, but who has ingratiated himself with Bolivar, as he did with General Jackson, by sycophancy. Harrison was but a short time there, but long enough to get involved in some of their party

divisions. It was perhaps impossible to avoid it. Harrison says that Bolivar's friends openly avow their purpose to make Bolivar King or Emperor, and say that General Jackson intends to do the same in this country. He says also that he did not, while he was Minister, take any part in the internal dissensions of that people, but that after he had been succeeded by Mr. Moore he had written a letter to General Bolivar, to dissuade him from the establishment of a monarchy; which letter, he said, he intended to publish.

I asked him if it was true that Venezuela had determined to separate from the republic of Colombia.

He thought it would, if Bolivar should assume the crown. This, however, he believed he would not do: he would content himself with the title of President for life. He said that Bolivar had applied to the British Government for support to his project of establishing a monarchy, and the answer was, that Great Britain took a deep interest in the welfare of the people of Colombia, but would not interfere with their interior government. If they should, however, call a European prince to the throne, no English prince could accept it, and there would be great inconvenience should the choice fall upon any other than a prince of Spain. The conduct of Bolivar has for many years been equivocal. As a military leader, his course has been despotic and sanguinary. His principles of government have been always monarchical, but for himself he has repeatedly played off the farce of renouncing his power and going into retirement. He still holds out this pretence, while at the same time he cannot disguise his hankering after a crown.

19th. The debate in the Senate upon Foot's resolution, concerning the public lands, continues, and has elicited a number of able and animated speeches. Benton and Hayne, by a joint and concerted attack upon the Eastern portion of the Union, proposed to break down the union of the Eastern and Western sections, and of restoring the old joint operation of the West and the South against New England. Benton's object is personal advancement and plunder; Hayne's, personal advancement, by the triumph of South Carolina over the tariff and internal improvement, and Calhoun's succession to the Presi-

dency. The assault was so vehement and rancorous and desperate that it roused the spirit of the East, and Webster and Sprague have made eloquent speeches in its defence. Holmes finished a powerful speech this day. Barton has replied to the personalities of Benton by personalities, cutting because founded in truth. There is another question now in sharp discussion, upon the nominations before the Senate in the place of persons removed. Mr. Clayton asked my opinion upon the construction of the words in the Constitution authorizing the President to fill vacancies happening during the recess of the Senate. I gave him my opinion, and also mentioned my experience of the practice under the Government, almost coeval with its existence. Mr. Clayton seemed to think that the President could not remove an officer without the concurrence of the Senate.

20th. I finished reading the article in the Edinburgh Review upon Captain Hall's Travels and Cooper's Notions of a Bachelor. There is a feeling of chagrin and irritation in everything that the English travellers and reviewers write or say about America; but they say nothing worse, perhaps nothing half so bad of us, as we say or think of one another. It is somewhat singular, though perhaps not an unnatural inconsistency, that while we have so much self-complacency in our national vanity we have so much mutual hatred and contempt for one another.

22d. Mr. Norton, who called upon me with S. Clark, is a member of the House of Representatives from the district formerly represented by Albert H. Tracy, who married his daughter. Tracy is now a member of the Senate of New York, and, Clark said, would be the candidate of the Anti-Masons at the next election for Governor. I asked them how the Anti-Masonic fever came on in the State of New York. Norton said in substance that it was going on conquering and to conquer; that it had elected his son-in-law, Tracy, to the Senate of New York; that he believed it would carry the next election for Governor of New York, and they expected would next year command majorities in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. He said he had a letter from Mr. Tracy advising them here to take

no part in favor of either of the old hack candidates for the next Presidency—meaning Van Buren, Calhoun, and Clay—for that the Anti-Masons might very probably be able hereafter to start and carry a candidate of their own, or, at all events, decide the contest by throwing their weight into the scale of the one whom they should prefer.

I asked Clark if he was not himself a Mason. He said he had been, but that he had renounced the craft before this question about Morgan had arisen.

Clark enquired of me if I had not told Mr. Storrs that I knew Mr. Platt, whom I had caused to be appointed Postmaster at Utica, to be a Jackson man.

I said I had some recollection of having told Mr. Storrs that I had heard so.

Clark said he himself had been a candidate for the office, and had been well satisfied with the appointment of Mr. Platt; that Platt had now been removed, and a third person had been appointed in his place; that they were all three Jackson men; and he wanted to get Mr. Platt restored.

I told him that if I had known Platt to be a Jackson man, that had been no recommendation of him to me; that I should have preferred the appointment of a friend of my own; but I directed the appointment of Platt because he was best qualified for, and was most desired by the inhabitants of the place. I had been exceedingly censured by my friends for appointing Jackson men at all, and I had certainly not appointed them in preference to my own friends with pleasure. I had neither appointed Mr. Platt nor him because they were Jackson men. He said that he had been for Jackson because he was against any person's being President more than one term. But there was a more conclusive impulse with him than that. He saw it was likely to be the strongest side.

23d. The National Intelligencer had this day half a recent speech of Mr. Webster, which has been much celebrated, in reply to a violent invective against him of R. Y. Hayne. It fills almost two sides of the paper, and the other half is to come on Thursday. It is defensive of himself and of New England, but carries the war effectually into the enemy's territory. It is

a remarkable instance of readiness in debate—a reply of at least four hours to a speech of equal length. It demolishes the whole fabric of Hayne's speech, so that it leaves scarcely the wreck to be seen. There was also in the National Journal a third part of a speech of Barton, Senator from Missouri, in the same debate, as severe upon Benton, his colleague, as Webster's upon Hayne. This debate is a symptom of the times. Personalities, malignities, and hatreds seem to take the place of all enlarged discussions of public concerns.

24th. I finished the chapter upon Turkey in 1828, and commenced that upon the campaign of 1829. This last is the most arduous part of the work, which now absorbs too exclusively my time. I am reading over the second time an article in the Quarterly Review of last November upon European Turkey—an article of forty-four pages, reviewing four books upon Turkey, and the whole purport of which is to show that the Ottoman nation is the bitterest enemy to the human race, and the severest scourge that was ever sent by Providence to chastise mankind, and yet manifesting the most extreme anxiety for the preservation of its power, and the most unappeasable jealousy of Russia. At this second reading I observe with concern how little remained upon my memory of the first. Nor is it by many degrees the only evidence I have of the decay of memory. It is vain to weep or pray upon this subject; but if it may render me suitably distrustful of the other faculties of the mind, which must also be upon the decline; if it may render me less dogmatical in my own opinions and more charitable to those of others; if it may prepare me for resignation to the will of Heaven, under all the privations which must henceforth accumulate upon me; and if it may set me upon seeking with sincerity the means of protracting the possession of what remains, and of supplying it with aids and resources, the calamity may yet be mitigated, and old age may be not without either its usefulness or its pleasures.

25th. Working upon the campaign of 1829, with no other guide than the French Journal of St. Petersburg, and a very imperfect file of that. The bulletins and reports from the commanding Generals are so copious that they would make of

themselves a large volume; but the task is to abridge, and to read at the same time with a spirit of criticism; and it is military criticism. To select from a dispatch of four or six folio pages the incidents which constitute the important part of the transaction, to reduce them within a narrow compass, and to connect them together in a regular chain of narrative, is a task worthy of a thinking mind; and to compress the whole so as to make it interesting to the general reader is still more difficult. It severely tries my industry and intellect, and now absorbs at least six hours every day of my time. In the campaign of 1829 two Russian armies were in great and constant activity at the same time: one in Asia, the army of the Caucasus, the other the army upon and beyond the Danube, which finally crossed the Balkan and dictated peace at Adrianople. The contemporaneous movements of these armies must be so managed in the narrative that they may not interfere with each other. This is new work to me, and presses anxiously upon me.

26th. Dr. Huntt called on me, and, among other conversation, told me that General Harrison had been yesterday to visit the President, who received him very graciously, and assured him that his recall from the republic of Colombia was not caused by any hostility to him, but because the instructions to the Panama Ministers contained some things offensive to Bolivar. Huntt said he had told Harrison that in his place he would not have gone near a man who had dismissed not only him but his son from office. But Harrison is of a forgiving disposition, and will very probably obtain another office under the present Administration.

27th. I have read in the English Quarterly Review an article upon the life and writings of Dr. Samuel Parr, which has led me to some reflections. Parr was a Whig, and the greatest classical scholar in England. The reviewer is a Tory, and, while acknowledging the genius and learning and amiable character of Parr, constantly labors to make him ridiculous and to disparage the application of his talents. There needs another side of the subject to be seen; for the reviewer makes out his case by showing the grossest inconsistencies of opinion in Parr's correspondence; and although there are eight volumes of the works, there is no one great work to go down to posterity.

The criticisms upon the sermons, upon the epitaphs, upon the style of Parr, are written in a spirit of unkindness, but are yet plausible. Living, it is good to receive instruction from an enemy; dead, it is glorious to receive extorted commendation from a foe.

28th. Mr. White, of Florida, called upon me this afternoon, and brought me Mrs. White's album, in which she requested that I would write some lines. White says that the Judiciary Committee of the Senate have unanimously reported against the confirmation of two nominations to office in Florida against which he protested, and he had no doubt they would be rejected. He told me of a conversation he had lately entertained with Calhoun, the Vice-President, in which White suggested to him the injudiciousness of the violent attacks of his partisans against New England; that Van Buren was taking advantage of it, and might have the whole Eastern influence thrown into his scale by it, which otherwise Calhoun might expect for himself. He said Calhoun appeared to be exceedingly at a loss what to do; said that he had been obliged by his position to take the lead in the opposition to Mrs. Eaton; that he did not know what things were coming to; that the payment of a national debt was in any country a revolution; that he had no feeling of unfriendliness to me, and would now have visited me but for fear of its being misrepresented; that if I would have consulted him four years ago, and not have appointed Mr. Clay Secretary of State, I should now have been President of the United States, etc. White had this conversation with Calhoun at the suggestion of Mr. Webster, who told him that he should hold his course independent of all parties, and should play second fiddle to no man; but wondered that Mr. Calhoun did not see his own interest to avoid indisposing all New England against him. White said Calhoun professed to have no apprehension that Clay would ever again be a formidable candidate for the Presidency.

March 2d. In my narrative of the Russian and Turkish war, I have come to the battle of Pravody, or of Koulevtcha, on the 11th of June last, which gave its final color to the issue of the war, and nearly got through the event of that day. As

this is the first attempt I have made at regular historical composition, I endeavor to reflect, as I proceed, upon the principles by which the work should be put together. My materials are most provokingly deficient. For the war with Persia, I had scarcely anything but the English Annual Register of 1827; for the year 1828, I have little more than the French Annuaire; and for the year 1829, absolutely nothing but two broken files of the Journal of St. Petersburg, both of which do not make a complete one, and neither of them bringing down the official reports of the Generals later than the 1st of September. A copy of the treaty of peace signed at Adrianople the 14th of September, cut out from a newspaper, is the only other document or voucher that I have. The narrative, therefore, is patchwork, loosely put together, and with unseemly chasms, for the want of such simple documents as bulletins and official reports. The plans of campaign I find it more easy to understand than I had expected. The narratives of battles I am obliged to take from ex-parte reports, which are not entirely to be trusted. If the story were told on both sides, there might be not less difficulty to come at the truth; but in the great events there is no mistake. In abridging the official reports of battles, I endeavor to retain the critical incidents of the day, and the graphic descriptions, special traits of valor, and occasional conceptions of genius, which influence the fortune of the day. I group together the transactions of each army, and the proceedings of the fleet, as much as possible by themselves. The affairs of Greece must have a separate chapter, and another is devoted to those of Turkey in 1828. There should be one for 1829, but I have no materials. I can give, therefore, no unity to the work. It is a collection of fragments —a Joseph's coat of many colors. Nor can I so well put into it the heart, with the system of arteries and veins, through which might run one stream of pure political and religious morality, little exposed to the surface, but felt in every pulsation. Thus should history be written; and, lastly, a rapid style, enlivened by sagacity and inspirited with meditation, should give to the whole the attraction of interest to grapple the attention of the reader. Multum abludit imago.

3d. Dr. Huntt had some new gossiping tales of scandal, which constitute the history of the present Administration. President Jackson has forced Mrs. Donelson, his wife's niece, who lives in the house with him, to visit Mrs. Eaton, and to invite her to the christening of her child, to which Mr. Van Buren stood sponsor and Miss Cora Livingston godmother. And now the rumor is that Mrs. Donelson is to go in the spring to Tennessee. Mr. Vaughan, the British Minister, gave a ball last Monday night, which was opened by Mr. Bankhead, the Secretary of the British Legation, and Mrs. Eaton; and Mr. Van Buren has issued cards also for a ball, which is to be in honor of the same lady. I confine myself to my Russian and Turkish war.

4th. Mr. Handy told me that copies of the papers relating to Timberlake's affairs had been sent to the Senate; that Timberlake, as purser of the frigate Constitution, was succeeded by a man named Randolph; that Randolph received after Timberlake's death a large sum of public money, with which he paid for purchases made by Timberlake, and took the receipts as if paid by him. In consequence of which the honest Auditor and Comptroller now insist upon crediting Timberlake with the payments and charging Randolph with the money. Randolph complained of all this in vain, till, being a Virginian, he went to the Senators of the State; and, under apprehensions that they would take his part, Randolph is to be allowed to state his accounts and to have the benefit of his vouchers. The copies of the papers are before the Senate; but the examination of Randolph's accounts is to be made not by Handy, whose business it is, but by some other clerk, selected by Kendall and Hill. There is a possibility that by these samples of their address Kendall or Hill may fail to be confirmed in their offices by the Senate; in anticipation of which there is a project for the appointment of a third Deputy Postmaster-General and sixteen clerks. These appointments are made without the concurrence of the Senate, and Kendall is to be the third Deputy.

I have been reading again the fourteenth book of the Epistles to Atticus, written all within three or four months of the death

of Cæsar, while it was uncertain what turn events would take. Cicero is still uncertain what to do—frequently comforting himself with the Ides of March, but finding nothing else to give him satisfaction. I consider the distresses and dangers of his situation from the commencement of the civil war by Cæsar until Cicero himself was murdered by Antony, and I say, What are the trifling ills that befall us now? The letter from Antony to him about the restoration of the son of Clodius, his answer, and the enclosure of both to Atticus, are all extraordinary. Ut audeant dicere—Tune contra Cæsaris nutum?

5th. We received the American Quarterly Review, in which there is an article upon Russia and Turkey, and one upon Mohammedan history, both full of information upon the subject which now occupies me. The first is a historical review of the eight wars between Russia and Turkey which preceded the last. There is in this review reference made to at least thirty authors—French, English, German, Italian, and Russian—to scarcely one of whom I can have access. The writer appears to be familiar with them all. Karamsin's History of Russia and Von Hammer's German History of the Ottoman Empire are works new to me. He says that Von Hammer is the most eminent Oriental scholar that has ever appeared in Germany, and, except Sylvestre de Sacy, has no rival in Europe. There is a short abstract of the causes and issue of every war between Russia and Turkey, from the first, in 1569, to the eighth, from 1807 to 1812; an animated account of the establishment of the House of Romanoff upon the throne of the Czars in 1613; a rapid sketch of the character of Alexis, father of Peter the Great, and some dramatic touches of the history of Peter himself; a satirical attack upon the Austrian Government for ingratitude to Prince Eugene, whom he calls the modest and valiant Eugene. This person is no favorite of mine. He was a Coriolanus—a Frenchman, born a subject of Louis XIV., bred to the Church, and, after being in ecclesiastical orders, deserting his country and going over to the sovereign of Austria, because he could not obtain of the Government of Louis XIV. a commission as commander of a troop of horse. For this he invaded his country, and

fought numbers of bloody battles against her. He went over to England, too, to raise a riot against the Tories, with the Duke of Marlborough. There are other things, too, much against this same Prince, in despite of his high reputation.

The article on Mohammed is not equal to the first, but has much information. The author professes acquaintance with the Oriental languages, and gives a severe criticism upon the Koran.

6th. I dined at Mr. B. O. Tayloe's. The company were Mr. and Mrs. J. D. Dickinson, father and mother of Mrs. Tayloe, who was also present; Mr. Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State; Baron Krudener and Mr. Vaughan, Ministers from Russia and Great Britain; Count de Menou and Baron Stackelberg, Chargés d'Affaires from France and Sweden; Judge Wayne, a member of the House from Georgia; Mr. Rush; Mr. Calvert, of Bladensburg; Mr. Fitzhugh, of Fairfax County, Virginia; and Edward Tayloe. Mrs. Dickinson had a sick headache, from an excessively crowded party last evening at Mr. Van Buren's.

I had some conversation with Mr. Vaughan upon Captain Hall's Travels in the United States, and told him I thought nations might avail themselves profitably of the observations of strangers not friendly to them, by learning something of their faults. Mr. Van Buren after dinner asked me if I had read Mr. Jefferson's Memoirs and Correspondence, recently published. I said I had not yet looked into the book, though I had a copy of it. He said there was in one of the volumes a considerable correspondence with my father. I observed that there were some singular things in the book, and that they had given occasion to an interesting scene in the Senate of the United States.

He had said the book was very interesting. He said he thought Mr. Clayton had been very wrong in introducing it into the Senate.

I said I was not of that opinion. I thought the Senate was precisely the place where it was proper that the exposure of the falsehood should be made. The book had already been introduced by Mr. Hayne, to read a statement from it concern-

ing me, quite as false as that respecting Mr. Bayard. But that which Mr. Clayton read was a gross imputation upon the integrity of Mr. Bayard, a man who was dead. The person stated by Mr. Jefferson as having told him the tale, and the person upon whom the corrupt attempt was said to have been made, were now both present in the Senate. A more signal refutation of falsehood could not be given. The man named by Mr. Jefferson as the propagator of the report was there. The man to whom Mr. Bayard was charged with having made the dishonorable proposals was there. Mr. Clayton calls upon each of them to answer for himself. Samuel Smith, the man alleged to have been tampered with, denies it openly, explicitly, without qualification. Mr. Livingston, the alleged reporter, tasks his recollection and remembers nothing. The slander is put down in the face of the nation; and I rejoiced at it.

He said he had not read the debate, and did not know that the book had been already introduced; that it was impossible to suppose Mr. Jefferson had not received the information; he supposed, therefore, that Mr. Livingston had given it, but that he had been mistaken.

I said to Mr. Van Buren that he would do well to read the debate, which I thought the most important one that had taken place since the existence of the Government. The two doctrines were now before the nation, and the existence of the Union depended, as I fully believed, upon that question. I said I well knew that the tale about Bayard and S. Smith in Mr. Jefferson's book was false, for Bayard had more than once told me himself the whole story of that transaction. It was directly the reverse of what it appears in the book.

9th. In my morning walk I overtook Chief-Justice Marshall, and walked with him from the hither end of the Pennsylvania Avenue to his lodgings at Gadsby's. He told me that the Supreme Court had before them questions upon the validity of large land-grants in Missouri, and were much perplexed to ascertain the authenticity of the titles, and he asked if through an official application to the Spanish Government authentic copies of their grants might not be obtained.

I said I thought it would at least be expedient to make the

application, though I had not much confidence in the result. There is a very formal code, in four folio volumes, of Spanish laws of the Indies, in which the title concerning land-grants is very short. It allows only of grants of very small extent, and always upon rigorous conditions of settlement. But the practice was very different from the law. The Kings themselves made enormous grants to favorites or purchasers—often without conditions of settlement. They often gave power to the Governors to make grants, and the Governors often made grants without authority; and many of them appear to have been carried into effect. Of all such grants, probably no record or trace could be found among the archives of Spain. But there would be another and a greater hazard in the event of such application—the chance that the archive would follow from the grant, instead of the grant from the archive; that is, that the holders of enormous spurious grants would find the means of fabricating the record, as well as the grant, by gilding the palm of the archivist himself. Of records of that kind, no small number has been imported from the Havanna into Florida since the cession of that province. I mentioned also another ground of distrust in Spanish records of Colonial land titles. The office of archivist was purchasable, and he considered the records in his office as his own property. This was the ground upon which the keeper of that office at St. Augustine had refused to deliver up the records in his possession. There was also a great mass of Florida documents lost on the passage from Florida to the Havanna, having been taken by a pirate.

10th. Mr. Southard introduced Mr. Vroom, who is the Governor of New Jersey, Mr. White, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the State. Vroom was one of the members of the committee of slander at the last Presidential election. They failed in that State at the time, but got their harvest after the principal election was lost. Garrett D. Wall was the first of this committee of slander, and when they got the majority in the Legislature, they at first chose him, but he was obliged to decline, and this man being the second slanderer, they chose him; and now he visits me by way of liberality.

Mr. Poinsett and Mr. Mason, late Minister and Secretary of Legation to Mexico, and just now returned, called upon me. Poinsett's mission has neither been successful nor very creditable to himself, and now he speaks with great contempt of the people of Mexico, whom he represents as excessively ignorant. I asked him how the last revolution there was to be accounted for. He said it was quite unaccountable to him—that it was effected by a hundred and fifty men, and that Guerrero had gone into retirement without any sort of necessity.

11th. Mr. Southard called this morning and took leave, having received a summons to return to New Jersey for an important cause in which the State is concerned. The cause here is between the States of New Jersey and New York, and is continued over to the next term—the State of New York having entered no appearance, and the Court having taken jurisdiction of the cause.

Mr. Southard told me a hint had been given him this morning that he might perhaps be called as a witness in relation to J. H. Eaton's engagements with the Navy Department, in the case of the late Purser Timberlake. He said Eaton had been exceedingly urgent that Timberlake should be sent to sea, and he (Southard) considered Eaton as bound for Timberlake.

12th. Day without interruption of visitors. Finished my chapter on the Russian and Turkish war—campaign of 1829—and commenced that upon Greece. Wrote to Joseph Blunt, and enclosed the seventh parcel of four sheets of manuscript. The pressure of this occupation, with all the others that I have, is almost distracting. I begin with three chapters of the prophets—much of them so unintelligible that it were a desperate pursuit even to seek their meaning; then eight or ten epistles of Cicero, followed by two pages of Turkish war, sundry articles of reviews, and speeches in Congress published in the newspapers. Not a moment of leisure is left me, and my journal loses some of its dulness.

18th. In my chapter upon the affairs of Greece I have now come to the year 1829, and have no longer the benefit of the French Annuaire Historique. My broken files of the French Journal de Saint-Petersbourg give me a succession of facts with

various degrees of authenticity, and without chain of connection together. I felt something like Jean Jacques Rousseau, as he describes it in his Confessions, when he had advertised to give a public concert without knowing one note of music from the another. I finally got a file of the National Journal for the last spring, summer, and autumn. I selected and read over the whole succession of extracts from the English newspapers relating to Greece and to the war between Russia and Turkey. Of the military operations I found nothing but lame accounts of small affairs; but the protocol of the conference of 22d March, 1829, and the address of the Greek President, Count Capo d'Istrias, to the National Assembly at Argos, the 23d of July last, are two important historical papers which I found. Five hours at least of eager application gave me little more than these two papers; and my own writing labored, so that I could not accomplish my daily task of two pages before dinner. I finished it, however, this evening.

Mr. Richard Peters spoke of a conversation he had a few days since with J. M. Berrien, now Attorney-General, in which Berrien admired the heroic virtue of John Branch, Secretary of the Navy, for hazarding his place rather than permit his wife and daughters to associate with the wife of John H. Eaton, the Secretary of War. This is an indirect puff of self-admiration; for Berrien himself is in the same plight with Branch, though a widower, and having only daughters. Ingham too is a purist, and they form a party against whom Eaton and wife have the support of the Old Horse-Racer himself, of Van Buren, Secretary of State, and of Barry, the Postmaster-General. There has long been talk of Branch's resigning or being dismissed. Mrs. Wirt was here this morning, and told Mrs. Adams that Mr. Branch had given notice to Mr. Wirt that he should quit the house which he hires of him—in May.

20th. Baron Krudener sat with me perhaps two hours. The sale of his furniture has been twice postponed; the second time, from this day till further notice. He told me that more than a month since he had received information that leave of absence had been granted him according to his application, but that four packets had since arrived and yet he had not received

his official permission. He should, therefore, go in a day or two to Philadelphia, and return here to wait for his dispatch. He said he should leave young Krehmer here as Chargé d'Affaires, but that Mr. Lomonosoff was coming out in that capacity.

I had much conversation with the Baron upon the affairs of Russia and of Turkey and of Greece. He said that Russia was endeavoring to obtain for the Greeks the most favorable terms possible, and he thought they would be relieved from the payment of tribute; but that they must receive Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg as their sovereign.

I asked what he would do with his religion.

He supposed he might be converted to the Greek Church. If not, that he would have trouble from that source. I asked him about the personal history of Generals Diebitsch and Paskevitch. The first is a native of Silesia; born a Prussian subject, entered the Russian service at eighteen, in the time of the Emperor Paul; was a Lieutenant in the Guards, and, being low in stature and not handsome, Paul one day fixed his eye upon him at the parade. The next morning an order of the day appeared announcing that the name of Lieutenant Diebitsch was struck from the rolls of the army, "pour son indigne figure." Diebitsch went home to Silesia, but after the accession of Alexander was recalled or re-admitted into the army. He then rose gradually until the campaign of 1813, when he was chief of the staff of the army which went to Paris, and discovered great ability in the combinations for providing the army with supplies. The plan of that campaign was entirely his. On the resignation of Wittgenstein, who was near eighty years old, and worn out, Diebitsch took upon himself the responsibility of the campaign in which he so handsomely succeeded. He is a man of lofty ambition and of good principles, and of dauntless personal courage. Paskevitch is a Russian; also a man of keen ambition. He spoke also of Czernicheff and Araktcheieff, favorites of Alexander, but bad men—particularly the latter, whose project of military colonies he thought excessively mischievous and dangerous.

22d. Judge Spencer came at ten o'clock this morning, with

a Mr. Beekman, of New York, and took my answers to the interrogatories in the case of Peter B. Porter *vs.* the United States, in the District Court for the Northern District of New York. Judge Spencer administered the oath, and Mr. Beekman took down my answers in writing. There was no person that appeared on the part of the United States. I enquired whether any person had been notified. It appeared there had not been. The interrogatories were all specific, except the last, which enquired if I knew anything further on the subject which would be to the advantage of the plaintiff; to which I answered that I had heard much concerning the question, but could say nothing that I knew would be either to the advantage or disadvantage of the plaintiff. Mr. Beekman said he would write the answers over again before he would call upon me to subscribe them.

While the Judge was taking my answers, he was continually digressing upon politics. He said he was opposed to the bill now before the House of Representatives for increasing the number of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, and I said I was against it too, considering upon whom the appointments would probably fall. He asked me also my opinion upon the Indian question. I told him that as to a primitive abstract right of soil, owned by the Indians when the European settlers first came here, I did not believe in any such right, and thought it probable his opinion differed in that respect from mine, as I knew those of Chief-Justice Marshall and Judge Story did. But as to the treaties and the Acts of Congress, I supposed our opinions would concur.

He said he should be glad to have further conversation with me on the subject; and I told him I should be happy to see him any evening when he should be at leisure.

Mr. Sparks told me he had sold the North American Review to Alexander H. Everett. Edward Everett was here this evening, and told me that his brother had given fifteen thousand dollars for three-fourths of the Review—one-fourth being the property of the publishers. He said his brother had written him to ask him to write for the July number of the Review an article on the debate still pending in the Senate upon Mr.

Foot's resolution concerning the public lands. He said he wished I would undertake it.

I told him I thought I could not; and one principal difficulty with me was a doubt whether the article that I should write would suit the interest of the work.

He spoke also of the debate which will soon take place on the Indian question, and of the unconstitutional Acts of the Legislatures of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, assuming jurisdiction over the Indians within their limits. Upon which I said there was nothing left for the minority to do but to record the exposure of perfidy and tyranny of which the Indians are to be made the victims, and to leave the punishment of it to Heaven.

23d. Bailey was here in the evening, much concerned about the Indians. He spoke also of the party manœuvres of the present times. There is in the Senate a majority of two or three adherents to the present Administration, bound by the party talisman to the support of all its measures—now as servile as in my time they were factious. Jackson rides rough-shod over all the rights and powers of the Senate relating to appointments. Many of his own party in the Senate are disgusted with him for it; but they dare not oppose him. Of all his nominations, they have yet rejected only one—Henry Lee, of whose infamy the judicial record itself was brought before them. His appointment was of Consul-General at Algiers; and they at last rejected him unanimously. With that exception, the Roman Senate of Tiberius was the prototype of the present majority of the Senate of the United States.

David Porter takes the place of Lee as Consul at Algiers. As General Samuel Smith's vote is aussi une puissance, C. Hughes has been appointed again as Chargé d'Affaires in Sweden, in place of J. J. Appleton, recalled. Daniel Brent told me that since the commencement of this Administration not a line has been received at the Department of State from Appleton—which is quite unaccountable, and gives some reason for his recall.

25th. Mr. Neal and Mr. Campbell came together. Mr. Neal, without directly soliciting a contribution, explained to

me the object of the fund for which he preached last Sunday. It was for the education of indigent young men for the ministry. There were now, he said, about one hundred who received aid to complete their education, but the demand was much greater than the supply; not more than a hundred dollars a year was allowed to any one of the students, and there were now in the Southern and Western States upwards of four hundred churches vacant for want of ministers. I told Mr. Campbell that I had heard he was going to Albany. He said it was uncertain; that he should prefer remaining here, but he could not live in fire. I said I believed the subject which had been so troublesome to him would subside, and that he would be suffered hereafter to live in peace. He said he believed so himself, in consequence of the investigation now going on in the Senate. I asked him if the questions relating to Timberlake's accounts, and to Eaton's connection with them, formed any part of the subject in which he had been involved. He said, only indirectly, as he had received information of the facts after his communications had become subjects of enquiry. I asked him who had been present at the Cabinet meeting before which he had been summoned. He said, all the members of the Administration, excepting Mr. Eaton himself; and Major Lewis had been there on his behalf. He said that he had not been permitted there to justify himself; that the President had repeatedly, with great violence, refused to hear him; that he had asked only for the opportunity of producing the proofs of what he had asserted, and that Mr. Ingham, Mr. Branch, and Mr. Berrien were all satisfied of the perfect correctness of his statements. The reliance upon the Senate, however, will be leaning upon a broken reed.

26th. I received from Joseph Blunt the original of my manuscript, pages 97–112, upon the Russian and Turkish war, with two half-sheets of letter-press. These I examined, wrote to him, and enclosed his copy of the last part of my chapter on the campaign of 1829; my original manuscript chapter on Greece; which closes my work, and which he is to use without having a copy made, and sending him a list of the public documents which should be printed in the part of the volume

devoted to such papers. I have thus completed my part of this undertaking, which has occupied nearly three months of my time. It is my desire to employ the time yet indulged to me in this world well. In this case, I have written from three motives: first, to perform a friendly office to a young man who has been a warm friend, and whom I have not been able in any other way effectually to serve; secondly, to contribute in forming correct opinions in this country upon a subject of great political importance; thirdly, to operate, if possible, upon opinions in Europe, and especially upon the Emperor of Russia. The success on each of these points is now under other control. The work may excite little or no public attention—in which event all my purposes will fail: it will be seed sown on the wayside, scattered to the winds, and of no use to any one; and, as this will in all probability be its fortune, I have prepared my mind for that result, and waiting for suggestion from abroad of some other topic for experiment.[1]

27th. Mr. Marks, a Senator from Pennsylvania, came twice this day—in the morning to introduce a Mr. Gray, and in the evening Mr. Greiff, both from the western part of Pennsylvania. Marks is a very worthy man, who has kept his faith unshaken, unseduced, unterrified, through all the popular frenzies of his State, always steering a steady course, and prepared for the event which will restore him to private life.

Mr. Bell, the Senator from New Hampshire, passed two hours with me. He was enquiring who had been the former Comptrollers of the Treasury. He entertains a feeble hope that some of the most profligate publishers of scurrilous newspapers, now in nomination before the Senate for offices, will be rejected; but he will be disappointed. He says he has a full conviction that from the 4th of March, 1789, to the 4th of March, 1829, in forty years, the whole number of base and worthless characters that obtained access to the public offices did not equal that which had got into them within the course of the last year.

[1] These contributions to a short-lived publication at New York, entitled "The American Annual Register," consist of chapters x. to xxv. inclusive in the third volume, and chapter xxi. in the fifth volume.

He is apprehensive that the enquiry into the transactions of Timberlake and Eaton will be suppressed. Upon a motion in the committee this morning to ask authority from the Senate to send for persons and papers, the votes were two and two —the fifth member, Tazewell, being absent—purposely, as he supposes. The movements upon these nominations pending in the Senate are intimately connected with a controversy between the Telegraph, Calhoun's newspaper here, and the New York Courier, Van Buren's paper, upon the question whether Jackson is or is not a candidate for re-election as President—the Courier insisting that he is, and the Telegraph declaring it premature to ask the question. Mr. Van Buren has got the start of Calhoun, in the merit of convincing General Jackson that the salvation of the country depends upon his re-election. This establishes the ascendency of Van Buren in the Cabinet, and reduces Calhoun to the alternative of joining in the shout of hurrah for Jackson's re-election or of being counted in opposition. Tun' contra Cæsaris nutum? The first consequence is the suppression of all opposition to the nominations in the Senate; and the next will be a suppression of all enquiry concerning Eaton and Timberlake.

28th. Heard this morning Mr. Robinson, a missionary of the Episcopal Church, at St. John's. His text was from 1 Corinthians i. 22: "The Greeks seek after wisdom." His discourse was a mere narrative of his own visit to Greece as a missionary from the Board of Missions of the Episcopal Church in the United States, upon which he embarked 31st December, 1828; and after visiting several of the Ionian Islands he passed over into the Morea, whence within a few weeks he returned to this country, and is going out again the next autumn, as a permanent missionary from the same association. His account of the desolation of the country by the recent war was affecting. It would seem as if within the last seven years one-half the population had perished. The condition of the surviving inhabitants is wretched beyond description, and yet their passion to obtain education and to seek after wisdom is almost incredible. Numerous anecdotes which he told tended all to illustrate this anxious desire for knowledge. They have now Lancaster

schools in almost every city, and they long for Bibles, Testaments, and religious tracts. He says the Americans are great favorites all over Greece, but when he was there it was not so with the natives of Great Britain. This remark was not acceptable to Mr. Vaughan and Mr. and Mrs. Bankhead, who were sitting in a pew almost under the preacher. Mr. Robinson said it was not thought expedient to take up a collection, as there had been one so recently as this day fortnight, but whoever was disposed to contribute was requested to send his bounty to Mr. Hawley.

After church I had an hour's visit from Mr. J. W. Taylor, who told me he had a long conversation with Judge McLean, who has certainly made up his mind neither to seek nor to decline the office of President of the United States. He assured Mr. Taylor with the most positive dogmatism that Jackson will not be a candidate for re-election; and that if he should be, he cannot be re-elected; that Mr. Calhoun will be the Nullification candidate, but that Mr. McLean has no intention of serving as Vice-President under Mr. Calhoun.

I told Taylor I had no confidence in anything Mr. McLean says; and I gave him my reasons for this trust—which were, a constant system of duplicity pursued by Mr. McLean throughout the last Administration, and particularly in his employment and persevering patronage of Henry Lee. That Jackson will be a candidate for re-election, if, when the time of election comes, he has a fair prospect of success, I do not doubt. That his personal popularity, founded solely upon the battle of New Orleans, will carry him through the next election, as it did through the last, is altogether probable. The vices of his Administration are not such as affect the popular feeling. He will lose none of his popularity, unless he should do something to raise a blister upon public sentiment; and of that there is no present prospect. If he lives, therefore, and nothing external should happen to rouse new parties, he may be re-elected, not only once, but twice or thrice. And Mr. McLean will make no head against him.

Taylor said he thought McLean would be presented as the Anti-Masonic candidate at the next election—which may be.

McLean said that if Jackson should be a candidate, any man would be elected against him except Mr. Clay.

30th. General Harrison called upon me this morning to take leave, intending to depart to-morrow to return home. He sent me a second copy of a pamphlet that he has published here, respecting some unpleasant incidents which occurred shortly before he left the republic of Colombia. That Government appears to be in a convulsive state between military despotism and a republican constitution. Their revolution was popular, and formed upon principles adopted from the model of this country. Their objects were liberty and independence. But independence could be secured only by war. War required military chieftains and victories, and then the most successful General became the Liberator. The nation which owes its emancipation to a Liberator must have him for their Governor; but there will be a great mass of opposition to his Government. Intrigues, cabals, conspiracies, follow of course, and every one of these from which he escapes, or which he overcomes, hurries him on a step further to absolute power. This is the state of the republic of Colombia, liberated from Spanish tyranny, struggling for a constitution, but ruled by a military Dictator, with an army at his heels—a tyranny with the forms of freedom. Such a Government is jealous and suspicious, full of spies, eager to catch every incautious word of those whom it dreads, and turns every movement of a suspected person into treason. Harrison arrived in that country as Minister from the United States. He soon found himself an object of jealous observation. Inattentive to the admonitions of time and place, he indulged himself in panegyrics upon the freedom of speech and action enjoyed in the United States. He was immediately marked as an enemy to the Government of Bolivar. From that moment every step he took was watched, every word he said was caught, scrutinized, and perverted. He was made accountable for the loose talk of his son and of his Secretary of Legation, and soon signalized as a conspirator against the Liberator. He visited the British Consul, and they were both charged with plotting projects of assassination. He dined with a friend, and that friend was cast into a dungeon. His own life was not safe,

and he was at last fortunate in getting safe out of the country. After he had taken leave of the Government there, and was no longer Minister of the United States, he wrote a letter to Bolivar to dissuade him from making himself a King or Dictator; which he has now published in his pamphlet, and which must have nettled the Liberator beyond measure. He says that Mr. Vaughan, the British Minister here, has a copy of a letter from Bolivar to Lord Aberdeen, complaining that the greatest obstacle to the settlement of affairs in Colombia is the accursed Government of the United States. But I doubt this.

April 2d. Mr. Saltonstall has formed a settlement in the island of Cuba, and has obtained, in the name of another person, a Spanish subject, a steamboat privilege upon one of the rivers of the island. But, wishing to hold it in his own name, he is about returning to the island, with the intention of becoming a Spanish subject, by taking out letters of naturalization. And he wished to obtain letters of introduction from me to the Governor and Captain-General, Vivés, who he was informed entertained great respect for me. I declined giving such letters. First, because Mr. Saltonstall is a total stranger to me, recommended by Mr. Everett only upon the recommendation of Mr. Davis. Secondly, because Mr. Saltonstall purposes to become a Spanish subject, and has concerns of private interest, for which he wishes to secure the favor of the Governor and Captain-General. How this may be viewed by him I do not know, and a recommendation of the man might involve me in some responsibility for his projects. The facility with which men of character and consideration in this country give recommendations leads to pernicious consequences. When the nomination of Henry Lee, some days since, was rejected unanimously by the Senate, on account of the surpassing infamy of his character, the Telegraph put the disgrace of the appointment upon the recommendation of Chief-Justice Marshall and Judge McLean. Pudor hæc opprobria non potuisse refelli. Some of their friends were startled, and finally took distinctions, alleging that they gave, not recommendations, but merely certificates of talents. Good nature, unwillingness to refuse, and the repute of a kind and condescending disposition are motives

of such strong prevailment, that men of high reputation sign recommendations for all sorts of persons and things—for aspirants to office, for epic poems, spelling-books, quack medicines, razor-straps, and perpetual motions.

I told Mr. Saltonstall that my acquaintance with General Vivés had been altogether official, and that I had never ventured to give any person an introduction to him but in his official character and as connected with public affairs; regretting that I could not depart from this principle, though wishing him success in his undertaking.

Mr. Fendall called, and sat with me an hour. He mentioned the splendid speech of Mr. Clayton, the new Senator from Delaware, some of the doctrines of which I think not sound, but which, taken all together, is one of the most powerful and eloquent orations ever delivered in either of the halls of Congress.

3d. Mr. Torlade, the Chargé d'Affaires of Don Miguel, King de facto of Portugal, was here, and told me he had received "la triste nouvelle" of the death of the Queen-mother. This woman is a sister of Ferdinand of Spain, and had the reputation of a fury. She conspired to dethrone the King her husband, and is understood to have been the heart and soul of the counter-revolution, and the instigatress of Miguel in all his abominations. I had thought the account of her death by no means a "triste nouvelle." Mr. Torlade said she was a woman of very energetic character, extremely attached to her friends, "mais aussi" very vehement in her hatred. He then spoke of the national sentiment of the Portuguese, and considered it as settling the title of Don Miguel to the crown; "for," said he, "speculate as we may upon this subject, we always must return to that eternal and inextinguishable principle—the sovereignty of the people." Mr. Torlade said much also of his controversy with Mr. Barroso Pereira for the archives of the Portuguese Legation. The State Court in Philadelphia decided that Mr. Barroso having once enjoyed the immunities of a foreign Minister, the tribunals of this country could not deprive him of them, nor coerce him to surrender the archives. Mr. Torlade is sorely afflicted by this decision, and intends to have the question re-tried by the Supreme Court of the United States. It

is among the whimsical results in the application of anomalous principles, that here is a foreign Minister who cannot obtain possession of the archives of his Legation precisely because he is not amenable to the jurisdiction of the country. The diplomatic privilege is arrayed against itself, and, while it shelters Mr. Barroso, leaves Torlade helpless and impotent. Mr. Barroso was of the Constitutional party, and Torlade is the representative of Miguel. Our Judges, I have no doubt, were the readier to avail themselves of the jus gentium in favor of the liberal party and against the detested rule of Don Miguel.

4th. Heard Mr. Campbell this morning from John xiii. 17: "If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them;" and in the evening from Matthew xiii. 3–8: "And he spake many things unto them in parables, saying, Behold, a sower went forth to sow," etc.—the parable of the sower. The doctrine drawn from this parable by Mr. Campbell was rather harsh. It is the general character of Presbyterian preaching to terrify rather than to allure. This does not altogether suit my temper. Believing in the goodness and mercy of the Creator, I disbelieve those who represent Him as existing only to hurl thunder—nothing but thunder. Nor do I think the moral character improved by tempering the mind to action under the perpetual terror of the scourge. Incredulus odi. The system is much easier for a preacher than that of operating by argument or persuasion, and its tendency is to stiffen the influence of the preacher into authority. The negro slave dreads the overseer who holds the whip, more than the master in whose name it is brandished. I listen with pleasure to expositions of the mercy and goodness of God, and delight in the 136th Psalm. Exhortations to righteousness and truth, brotherly kindness and charity, have more prevailment over me than unceasing denunciations of vengeance and punishment. There are, however, denominations of Christians who hold different opinions, and insist upon being doomed weekly by their pastors to the infernal regions; and such are, perhaps, the major part of Mr. Campbell's auditors.

6th. Mr. Bell and Mr. Burnet, Senators from New Hampshire and Ohio, paid me a morning visit. They said Mr. White,

Senator from Tennessee, was making a speech in support of a bill which he has reported from a committee, for exporting the Southern Indians to the territory west of Arkansas. Mr. White, they said, usually made his speeches three times over. He had been speaking about three-quarters of an hour, and was about commencing his first repetition, when they thought they might indulge themselves with a walk and return without losing anything. These gentlemen think that the editorial nominations now before the Senate—that is, the writers and publishers of scurrilous newspapers, electioneering skunks, of whom there are about fifty appointed to office, and perhaps twenty of them now in nomination before the Senate—will be rejected. But they will all, or nearly all, pass; one or two may fail. General Jackson rules by his personal popularity, which his partisans in the Senate dare not encounter by opposing anything that he does; and while that popularity shall last, his majorities in both houses of Congress will stand by him for good or evil. It has totally broken down in the Senate both the esprit de corps and the combination against the Executive, which, from the last session of Mr. Jefferson's Administration, had presided in many of their deliberations and governed many of their decisions. And, indeed, it produced so many pernicious consequences that I sincerely believe the subserviency of these days less mischievous. In the moral government of the world one vice is oftener punished by another than either is reformed by virtue. A servile Senate is contemptible; a factious one is more dangerous.

8th. Returning this morning from my walk, I was joined by Major Luckett, of Louisville, Kentucky, an old acquaintance, who was here five or six years since, very earnest in search of a place, which I believe he did not then succeed in obtaining. He asked me this morning which was the earliest riser, he or I. I said I believed he must bear that palm. He said he had then been two hours up. I said I had been up little more than one hour. I asked him how long he proposed to stay here. He did not know—two or three months at least. He was in hopes of getting a place. He had not meddled much with politics, but he was personally acquainted with General Jack-

son; and Mr. Barry and Colonel R. M. Johnson were his friends. He asked me whether the Consuls to the Barbary powers had salaries—to what amount—and how many of them there were. My answer to this question he took a pencil and paper from his pocket and marked down, and intimated that I had omitted Syracuse from the list. He then enquired about the Consulate at London; but I told him that office was filled. He asked if I thought the bill for establishing two additional Deputy Postmasters-General, now before Congress, would pass. I thought not. He said others thought so too. And he told me of his visit to General Jackson, and of his taking tea with him, and other particulars equally interesting, and also of the settlement of some estate at Leesburg in which he has a concern. He is one of the samples of a candid office-hunter, and would have been more communicative if I had manifested proportionable curiosity. He left me at the end of the Avenue.

9th. Dr. Condict, a member of the House of Representatives from New Jersey, introduced a friend of his from that State, by the name of Thomas. Jonathan Elliott is publishing a collection of debates in the State Conventions upon the Constitution of the United States, and he now proposes to publish a supplementary volume containing a view or history of practical constructions of the Constitution by Congress. He came to-day ostensibly to enquire of me where he could find reports of the debates in Congress from 1790 to 1795.

I referred him to the Gazette of the United States, Andrew Brown's Federal Gazette, and the Aurora newspapers, and mentioned to him the principal topics of discussion which were agitated during that period. I also mentioned to him the fifth volume of Marshall's Life of Washington and Pitkin's History of the United States for more particular information on these points, and lent him the fifth volume of Marshall, that he might look over it more at leisure. He proposes to include in his collection the republication of the Journal of the Federal Convention of 1787; the minutes of Judge Yates, of New York, who seceded from the Convention; and the pamphlet of Luther Martin. And I recommended him also to look up the newspaper lucubrations of Mr. Edmund Randolph on both sides of

the question—he having changed sides at least four times in the course of the formation and adoption of the Constitution.

Elliott said he had written to Mr. Madison requesting his book for publication, but he had answered that he had particular reasons for declining the publication at present. Mr. Elliott appeared to be satisfied with the information that I gave him on the subject of his enquiries, and made some remarks indicating, though not avowing, a disposition to commence the publication of another newspaper at this place. He said the members of the present Administration were all personally unpopular here, but that there was no spirited newspaper to express the sentiments of the people. The Intelligencer and the Journal were both altogether inefficient, and a paper of very different character would be required.

I gave no countenance to these overtures, if they were intended as such, and no encouragement to continue the conversation in that channel. He told me that Meehan had been the nominal purchaser of the Washington City Gazette in 1825, but that John H. Eaton had written a letter to him making himself responsible, and that John P. Van Ness endorsed the notes; but that the paper had been purchased by a subscription, to which several persons had contributed, and he had been obliged to sue the notes. I heard him without pressing any enquiries upon him; and doubt whether he would incline to tell the whole truth relating to this transaction.

12th. Early in the evening Mr. Foot and Judge Burnet, Senators of the United States, called, and mentioned to us that the nomination of Isaac Hill, Second Comptroller of the Treasury, was this day rejected by the Senate—thirty-three to fifteen—every Senator being present. Hill was the editor of the New Hampshire Patriot, one of the most slanderous newspapers against the late Administration, and particularly against me, in the whole country. But he published and circulated besides a pamphlet containing a false and infamous imputation not only upon me but upon my wife. The author of this pamphlet and imputation was Jonathan Russell; but these gentlemen said it was this day urged, and did actually occasion, the rejection of Hill's nomination. They said that six or eight of the

fifteen who voted for the confirmation said that if the vote should be postponed till to-morrow morning, unless a satisfactory explanation should be given of the fact they would vote against the nomination also. Two other nominations of libellers quite as profligate as Hill were this day confirmed.

13th. I began a letter to A. H. Everett, and it led me to three articles written by him, in as many recent numbers of the North American Review—the last upon the tariff, one upon Malthus's definitions in political economy, and one upon Professor Cousin's new system of philosophy, which is mystifying the French nation. I fell yesterday upon his review, in 1825, of Lord Byron's Works, which contains much sound criticism, with an estimate, perhaps on the whole too severe, of his poetry. A century and a half ago, Madame de Sévigné predicted that the taste for Racine and for coffee would soon pass away; and surely she did not imagine that her own fondling letters to her daughter would be read after a hundred and fifty years, to prove how weak her own judgment was in matters of taste. It is vain presumption for mortals to foretell what taste will be lasting and what is destined to perish. Byron has been extolled as the sublimest of poets. There are passages in all his poems which I have thought charming, but mixed with so much that was disgusting that I never believed his popularity would be lasting. His versification is so destitute of sustained harmony, many of his thoughts are so strained, his sentiments so unamiable, his misanthropy so gloomy, his images so grossly indelicate, his libertinism so shameless, his merriment such grinning of a ghastly smile, that I have always believed his verses would soon rank with forgotten things. But Byron was one of those writers whose lives are interwoven in all their works. The author keeps his reader forever in sight of himself. Such writers must always be vicious and miserable. For the world will suffer no man to entertain them long with his good deeds or his happiness.

> "It is a witness still of excellence
> To put a strange face on its own perfection."

But the bad son, the faithless husband, the unfeeling father,

by keeping the world in mind of their vices, seem to command sympathy by the mere faculty of painting their own wretchedness. The last scenes of his life gave him a new, and even a virtuous, claim to commiseration, and his associates who survived him have kept his memory alive by making books to sell out of the loose adventures and characteristic anecdotes of his life. Moore is now making the final and largest speculation of this kind, and it may somewhat lengthen out his immortality. I shall not hazard a prophecy against him.

15th. As I was walking out, I met Mr. Sparks, who was coming to see me, and walked with him round the Capitol Hill. He said he had just returned from a visit to Pittsburg, where he had been to inspect the spot of Braddock's defeat in 1755, which he had done much to his satisfaction. There was no person left there who had any recollection of the event, but there were many traditions, from which he had collected valuable information. I asked him when he expected to publish his correspondence of Washington. He thought there would be a volume out before the end of this year. I asked him how many volumes he supposed would complete the work. He said, ten or twelve. I observed that the English Quarterly Review advised him to retrench the publication and give but little—advice quite natural for Englishmen, who the less they heard about Washington and the American Revolution the better pleased they were.

He said that he had difficulties with the proprietors of the papers; that he could never obtain them from the late Judge Washington till he held out to him the prospect of money to be made by the publication, and his wish was to make the most money from it that he could. The present proprietor, Colonel Washington, now a member of Congress, had the same disposition. It was probable that a collection of four volumes would raise more money than ten or twelve, but he thought that the publication of all those which would be useful as historical documents would be better for the public.

Mr. Sparks made some enquiries about Thomas Johnson, who, he said, appeared from Washington's papers to have

been one of his intimate and confidential friends, and asked if I knew who was in possession of Mr. Johnson's papers. I gave him an account of Mr. Johnson and his family, and said I supposed his papers were in possession of Mr. Graham, of Frederick, but it was not probable they would be of much importance. He said he would write to Mr. Graham. We conversed upon other subjects relating to the American Revolution—upon Hutchinson's History, Lord Mansfield, Burke, and the author of Junius. He spoke also of Graham's History of the American Colonies, which he said had not succeeded in England. This is very natural, but is the very reason why it ought to succeed here.

20th. The Chevalier Torlade d'Azambuja, the Minister of the King of Portugal de facto, Don Miguel, called upon me, and showed me a letter that he had written to Mr. Clay, making enquiries concerning the official standing of Mr. Barroso Pereira. 'Tis a very complicated case of diplomacy. Mr. Barroso first appeared here as a Consul of the old and now deceased King of Portugal, after his return to Europe from Brazil, and under the Constitutional Government. Then came the partition between him and his eldest son, the present Emperor of Brazil, and his own assumption of the title of Emperor. Upon some notification of this by Mr. Barroso, being at that time Secretary of State, I answered his note without giving the King the title of Emperor, but naming him according to the old diplomatic style—His most faithful Majesty. This did not satisfy Mr. Barroso, who returned my note, declining to receive it unless with a formal acknowledgment of the Imperial title of his master. No further notice was taken of him, until some months afterwards the old King died, and settled all questions respecting his title. At his death he left one of his daughters Regent till his son, the Emperor of Brazil, should take the government into his hands. Don Miguel was then an exile at Vienna. Mr. Barroso exercised his functions as Consul during the Regency, and until Miguel assumed the crown. On this last event, Mr. Barroso wrote a formal note to the Secretary of State, declaring that he was no longer the representative of the Portuguese Government,

and pronouncing Don Miguel a usurper. This was in July, 1828. Mr. Clay acknowledged the receipt of his note, and informed him it would remain of record in the Department. A month afterwards, Mr. Torlade arrived with credentials from the Portuguese Regency, but claiming to be received as accredited by Miguel, as King of Portugal. Without entering into the question of Don Miguel's legitimacy, I declined receiving Mr. Torlade, on the principle that, as by his own showing the authority by which he had been accredited was extinct, he could not be received upon those credentials, and the Government of the United States could not decide in advance upon any other credentials which he might afterwards receive. And thus the matter rested at the close of the last Administration. Mr. Torlade received his new credentials a few days before that time; but I left to my successor the decision of the question whether Don Miguel should be recognized as King of Portugal or not, as the responsibility of the recognition must necessarily fall upon the present Administration, and Miguel was then acknowledged by no other European Government. Mr. Torlade was soon after received, and has ever since been ineffectually claiming from Mr. Barroso the archives of the Portuguese Legation. He first applied to the Secretary of State for compulsive means in aid of his demand. The opinion of the Attorney-General was taken, and he was referred to the judicial tribunals. The Court in Pennsylvania decided that Mr. Barroso, having once been received as a diplomatic Agent, was entitled to the privileges of the laws of nations, and not amenable to compulsive process here. The question is to be brought before the Supreme Court of the United States, and Mr. Torlade hinted that he might have occasion for my testimony before the Court. His object now was only to write to Mr. Clay, to make some enquiries of him respecting Mr. Barroso's self-divestment of the diplomatic character in July, 1828. He said he proposed to send this letter to the Secretary of State, with a request that it may be transmitted to Mr. Clay; but he had thought, as it related to transactions under my Administration, that he ought, before sending it, to communicate it to me. I told him I saw no

objection to his sending it as he proposed, and had no doubt he would receive from Mr. Clay a candid answer.

21st. Mr. Fendall called, to enquire if I had finished the dissertation upon parties in the United States which I had commenced last spring. I had not; but recommended him to begin upon his work without waiting for it. We had a long conversation upon the aspect of political affairs at the present time, and the movements of the present Administration. The nominations are yet laboring in the Senate; and he says that there is a report of a committee of the Senate bearing so heavily upon J. H. Eaton, in his connection with Timberlake, that Lewis, the Chief Clerk of the War Department, and Smith, the Registrar of the Treasury, are both gone to New York to seek counteracting evidence. There has been another great agitation at the President's House. The Jefferson dinner was a trick of Calhoun's against Van Buren, as the Harrisburg and Albany nominations of Jackson for re-election were a trick of Van Buren's against Calhoun.

23d. Visit from Mr. Rush, who has been twice absent several weeks in Pennsylvania, and who proposes to remove thither with his family, but has not yet determined to what part of the State he will go. I told him I thought he was right in the intention to remove, and hoped he would be instrumental in saving the Union, which I believed depended entirely upon Pennsylvania, and upon the accomplishment of a great change in her political partialities. This is the forlorn-hope of the Union.

26th. Mr. Bell, Senator from New Hampshire, paid me a morning visit. He mentioned that many of the nominations are yet pending in the Senate, and said it was generally rumored that Isaac Hill would be renominated to the Senate for the office of Second Comptroller, and he thought in that event the nomination would pass by the casting vote of the Vice-President. Mr. Bell says that the action of the Senate now depends upon Tazewell, who is discontented, and disapproves of almost everything that is done, but votes for all that he disapproves. Tazewell, as to the question of the succession to the Presidency, is for Calhoun in preference to Van Buren.

29th. I received this morning, I know not from whom, two copies of a pamphlet just printed at Richmond, being a republication of papers under the signature of "Algernon Sidney," and some others, printed in the Richmond Enquirer at the time of the Seminole War controversy in 1818 and 1819. Two of the letters are addressed to me, and are violent attacks upon me for defending General Jackson's proceedings on that occasion. There are also some comments of the editor of the Enquirer, in the same tone. They are now reprinted, as a three-edged sword against General Jackson, against me, and against the editor of the Richmond Enquirer, then the bitterest reviler, and now the most obsequious tool, of Jackson. The writer of "Algernon Sidney" is Benjamin Watkins Leigh, a lawyer of note, living at Richmond. He treats the whole subject like a lawyer, and a mere lawyer—that is, upon a contracted scale. The letters contain a strong lawyer's argument upon transactions of which Indian savages and Spanish perfidies and British incendiaries were the elements. Scruples of law and constitution with such enemies are like the scruples of the Jews butchered by their enemies rather than violate the Sabbath by self-defence.

May 1. After dinner, Mrs. Tudor, who is my next-door neighbor, sent a request to me to come to her; which I did, and found her and her daughter, Mrs. Stewart, in great distress. She gave me to read a letter from Mr. Wright, Consul of the United States at Rio de Janeiro, to Mr. Van Buren, Secretary of State, dated 13th March, announcing the decease on the 9th of that month of William Tudor, Chargé d'Affaires at the Court of Brazil—Mrs. Tudor's eldest son. The old lady was composed, and conversed with full self-possession. Mrs. Stewart was bewailing bitterly their misfortune, and could not be comforted. Her daughter, a girl of about fourteen, was showing her every possible filial attention. I sat with them about half an hour, and said what I could to soothe them. Their loss is irreparable, and the country has lost an upright, able, and faithful public servant. Mrs. Stewart asked me to write a biographical notice of him for publication, of which I promised to consider. He was the son of William Tudor, one of my

father's pupils, and throughout life a kind and affectionate friend. He was born at Boston in 1777; graduated at Cambridge in 1796; some time a member of the Legislature of Massachusetts; appointed by Mr. Monroe, 9th December, 1823, Consul for Lima and the ports of Peru, and by me, in 1827, Chargé d'Affaires at Rio de Janeiro. He was one of the very few persons whom upon my own favorable opinion I brought into the public service in distinguished office, and who by his services more than answered my expectations. He negotiated an excellent treaty of commerce with Brazil, and obtained indemnity for numerous injuries committed by Brazilian officers during their war with Buenos Ayres, which had been much aggravated by the rashness and intemperance of Condy Raguet, another of my own appointments, but one whose folly ruined himself and disgraced, as far as he could disgrace, me, and who, of course, returns my unmerited kindness by base ingratitude. He brought this country and Brazil to the very verge of war, raved and stormed with the Brazilian Government till he had left himself nothing else to do, and then, without authority, demanded his passports and came home.

Tudor was a perfect contrast with him in character. His temper was conciliatory, his manners pleasing, his deportment respectful. He healed the breaches between the two Governments, and succeeded completely in his mission. The present Administration did not remove him, and I had hoped he would yet have rendered more important services to his country. It has been otherwise disposed. My duty is acquiescence, and perhaps to perform a last act of friendship to this worthy man, and of kindness to his aged and afflicted mother.

4th. Mr. Sparks called, and enquired again concerning Mr. Graham, of Frederick. Sparks said he had been spending a week at Mr. Madison's, who spoke to him much of the proceedings and published Journal of the Convention of 1787. He said he knew not what to make of the plan of Constitution in that volume purporting to have been presented by Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina. He said there was a paper presented by that person to the Convention, but it was

nothing like the paper now in the book. It was referred to the committee who drafted the plan of the Constitution, and was never afterwards in any manner referred to or noticed. In the book it has the appearance as if it was the original draft of the Constitution itself, and as if that which was finally adopted was Pinckney's plan, with a very few slight alterations. I told Mr. Sparks that Rufus King had spoken to me of C. Pinckney's paper precisely in the same manner as he says Mr. Madison now does; that it was a paper to which no sort of attention was paid by the Convention, except that of referring it to the committee, but when I compiled the Journal of the Convention, Charles Pinckney himself sent me the plan now in the book, as the paper which he had presented to the Convention; and with it he wrote me a letter, which obviously held the pretension that the whole plan of Constitution was his, and that the Convention had done nothing more than to deteriorate his work by altering some of his favorite provisions. Sparks said Mr. Madison added that this plan now in the book contained several things which could not possibly have been in Pinckney's paper, but which rose out of the debates upon the plan of Constitution reported by the committee. He conjectured that Mr. Pinckney's memory had failed him, and that, instead of a copy of the paper which he did present, he had found a copy of the plan reported by the committee with interlined amendments, perhaps proposed by him, and, at a distance of more than thirty years, had imagined it was his own plan.

12th. I took my usual early walk. Met Mr. James Hillhouse, of Connecticut, who turned and walked with me. Three or four days ago he stopped me and asked if I had any objection to giving him my views upon a project of amendments to the Constitution. I did not give him a positive answer. When Mr. Hillhouse, on the 12th of April, 1808, offered his proposal of amendments and read his dissertation, I did believe that he had another motive than that which appeared on the surface—namely, the desire of drawing my father or me into controversy with him. I saw clearly the advantages that he might expect to derive from that. But, absurd as his proposed amendments were, there was not the slightest danger in them; and I had

no inclination to fight shadows or windmills. When my father read Hillhouse's book, he spoke of it to me, and intimated to me a design to expose some of its absurdities. I told him I believed that to be precisely Hillhouse's object; and my father gave up all idea of answering him.[1] Twenty-two years have since passed away, and, after some feeble efforts of the cabal with which Hillhouse was connected to puff his project into notice, it sunk into oblivion. He never called up his amendments in the Senate. He continued as a Senator among the most violent of the federalists, but retired from Congress in 1810, and in 1814 and 15 was a member of the Hartford Convention. The change of politics in Connecticut took place in 1811, and Hillhouse has since that time been retired from political life, but always maintaining a respectable character. He comes here now as agent for a canal company, to obtain a subscription by Congress. He understands his interest too well to indispose the majorities in both Houses of Congress and the members of the present Administration by dabbling in politics disagreeable to them. About a year since, Mr. Hillhouse was one of Judge Gould's certificate men to discredit a statement made by me, which he (Hillhouse) well knew was true. He came here nearly three months since, passed by me at least ten times in the streets without the slightest notice of me, and last week first called to see me. I received him with good humor and cordiality, upon which he took from his pocket and gave me a copy of his new pamphlet, addressed to me in manuscript, with his name. Since then we have met several times in my morning walk; and at last he asked me to give him my views upon his work, which he says he considers extremely important. Crafty people are apt to overreach themselves. A serious discussion of his amendments would be ridiculous; but as my antagonist he would know how and to whom to pay his court, and might get a vote of subscription for the Farmington Canal.

13th. Mr. Poinsett, our late Minister to Mexico, called to visit me. He has been at Philadelphia and Baltimore, where

[1] This review of Mr. Hillhouse's propositions was found among John Adams's papers, and printed in the collection made of his works, volume vi. pp. 523–550.

they have given him public dinners, where speeches were made and toasts given. He told me he was going immediately home to South Carolina, even at this season of the year, to see if he could, by good advice, calm the excitement which he does not share. He spoke of a toast recently given by the Governor of the State—"The right to fight"—and said it was unfortunate that the most violent man they had was to be their next Governor —James Hamilton. South Carolina has been potioned and philtered and back-scourged, like an old lecher, into a frenzy of excitement, and has now a prospect of coming into physical collision with the Government of the Union. As the Government is now administered, there is every prospect that her bullies will succeed, to the sacrifice of the interest of all the rest of the Union, as the bullies of Georgia have succeeded in the project of extirpating the Indians, by the sacrifice of the public faith of the Union and of all our treaties with them.

19th. Mr. Shaler paid me a morning visit. He is now the Consul of the United States at the Havanna, but, like his predecessors, comes to pass the summer on the continent. I enquired after my old friend Governor Vivés, who is, he says, in good health and in good repute; but from some of his measures he had not formed a very high opinion of his talents. I said he had the talent of a fair and candid mind, which for a Spanish negotiator was the first, because the rarest, of talents. He is the only Spanish diplomatic man whom I have had to treat with, who formed an exception to the character of them given by Lord Chatham. Shaler spoke of W. B. Hodgson, and asked me if I thought there would be any impropriety in his selling to the British Foreign Bible Society the manuscript translation of the Book of Genesis and three of the Gospels, which he had procured to be made in the Berber language. I said, No; but that while he remained in office in the Department of State he should receive nothing from any foreign individual or society but with the knowledge and approbation of the President and Secretary of State.

20th. In my walk this morning I met Mr. Hillhouse, who stopped and gave me a very kind and cordial invitation, if I should visit New Haven, to call and see him, which invitation

he extended to my son and family. Why should the poor be flattered? Why should this gentleman treat me thus now? I will give him credit for sincerity, and ascribe it to a kind and Christian temper, willing to bury in oblivion all past animosities and dissensions. I shall meet this disposition with a like return, and will discard the suspicions which the first manifestations of his friendly spirit excited. I will wait for time to explain the motive of his certificate last spring to Judge Gould.

Mr. Vance, member of the House of Representatives from Ohio, called with Mr. Dougherty, late Marshal of the United States, but now superseded by another appointment. Vance said the successor was a respectable man, and almost the only creditable appointment made by the present Administration in the State. The offices throughout the Union have been considered as spoils of victory, and they have been distributed to sycophants and slanderers, apparently without enquiry as to the qualification of integrity at all, and very little as to talent.

22d. I called and spent an hour of the evening with Mr. Rush. He told me some particulars of the Jefferson birthday dinner, lately got up by Benton and Calhoun, to proclaim anti-tariff and nullification doctrine under the shelter of Jefferson's name. The ostensible purpose was to honor Jefferson's birthday by an assemblage of members of Congress dining together upon Republican principles. The real object was to trick the Pennsylvania members into the drinking of anti-tariff and nullification toasts. Eight members of the Pennsylvania delegation, Jefferson Republicans dyed in the wool, agreed to go. The company were assembled. The President was there by invitation. George R. Leiper, one of the Pennsylvania members, told Miller, his colleague, one of the toast-making committee, that he should like to see the toasts before drinking them. Miller brought him the list of toasts, and read them, till he came to the thirteenth, when Leiper told him he had enough; he need not read any more. He then collected the whole eight together, and told them he should not sit down at the table where these toasts were to be drunk; and they all agreed to withdraw together, which they accordingly did. The obnoxious toasts were drunk. But President Jackson, being called

upon for his toast, gave, "The Union: it must be preserved"—Aio te, Æacida, Romanos vincere posse; and from that day the two sides of the faction have been each claiming the Presidential toast to itself. The Union must be preserved, says South Carolina, by repealing the tariff. The Union must be preserved, says Pennsylvania, by sustaining the tariff to the muzzle of the gun. Since the dinner, Leiper has published a letter from Mr. Jefferson to his father, charging opposition to domestic manufactures upon the Anglo-federalists. In conversing with Mr. Rush upon the prospects of the country, we agreed that the Indians are already sacrificed; that the public lands will be given away; that domestic industry and internal improvement will be strangled; and when the public debt will be paid off and the bank charter expired, there will be no great interest left upon which the action of the General Government will operate. The future must be consigned to "the sweet little cherub that sits up aloft."

New York, *June* 1st.—I received several visitors; Oliver Wolcott, a man whose condition somewhat resembles my own. Having survived the age of active life, he has no fixed abode, but resides chiefly with his children. He is nearly or quite fourscore years of age, and until about three years past was Governor of Connecticut. They then quietly dropped him, and elected Gideon Tomlinson in his place. Mr. Wolcott appears to retain possession of his faculties, and was much disposed to conversation upon the prevailing politics of the time. But we were very soon interrupted—against my inclination, for I should have been glad to listen long to Mr. Wolcott. He views the prospects of the Union with great sagacity, and with hopes more sanguine than mine. He thinks the continuance of the Union will depend upon the heavy population of Pennsylvania, and that its gravitation will preserve the Union. He holds the South Carolina turbulence rather too much in contempt. The domineering spirit naturally springs from the institution of slavery; and when, as in South Carolina, the slaves are more numerous than their masters, the domineering spirit is wrought up to its highest pitch of intenseness. The South Carolinians are attempting to govern the Union as they govern

their slaves; and there are too many indications that, abetted as they are by all the slave-driving interest of the Union, the free portion of the population will cower before them and truckle to their insolence. This is my apprehension. Mr. Wolcott considers their bullying only according to its own character, and supposes it will be harmless, because it is impotent.

Quincy, 6th.—The first session of the Twenty-First Congress was closed last Monday. Of the four bills of internal improvement which passed both Houses of Congress on Saturday, the President approved only one, and with that he sent a message announcing that he signed it with the understanding that it should receive a particular construction. As it was an appropriation for a road, the construction of the laws will depend entirely upon himself; but the explanatory message qualifying the signature of the President to an Act of Congress is unexampled in this country, and contrary to the spirit of the Constitution—a usurpation of the judiciary power, and susceptible of great abuse as a precedent. The appropriation for the road from Washington to Frederick he returned to the Senate with his objections, and the subsequent vote upon it there was twenty-two for and sixteen against it. His negative thus controls decided majorities in both Houses of Congress. He defeated the appropriation for the continuation of the Cumberland Road, and the bill authorizing the erection of several new light-houses and directing many new surveys, in a different manner. When the joint committee of the two Houses went to inform him that they were ready to adjourn, and to enquire if he had any further communication to make to them, he said he had nothing further, except that he retained those two bills for further consideration. The provision of the Constitution is that a bill presented to him shall become a law without his signature, if not returned by him within ten days, Sundays excepted—unless the Congress by their adjournment *prevent* its return. His remark to the committee, doubtless, was to give warning that Congress by their adjournment would prevent his returning those bills. These are remarkable events, as bringing into operation constitutional principles. The Presidential veto has hitherto been exercised with great reserve.

Not more than four or five Acts of Congress have been thus arrested by six Presidents, and in forty years. He has rejected four in three days. The overseer ascendency is complete.

19th. Lieutenant-Governor Winthrop, with his daughter, and Judge Hall, with George Blake, paid morning visits. Blake said Mr. Webster had told him that there was a meeting of the members of Congress friendly to the last Administration a few days before the close of the session, to consider whether it would be expedient to make a nomination of a candidate for the Presidency in opposition to General Jackson; and it was concluded rather to let the first nomination come from a State Legislature. It was confidently expected that the Administration would lose its majorities in five of the State Legislatures the coming winter—Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Louisiana, and Maryland. The nomination, it was expected, would come from Maryland. Mr. Webster is in very sanguine spirits, and considers the Administration as almost in a state of dissolution. He says there is not a person at Washington who appears to entertain the least respect either for Mr. Calhoun or Mr. Van Buren. I said I thought Mr. Webster had been in the habit of hearing the partisans of each of these men speak of the other; and I have great doubts whether the Administration will lose majorities in five of the State Legislatures so soon.

22d. I had a conversation upon subjects of literature and politics with Mr. A. H. Everett. We spoke of the proposed memoir of the life of William Tudor, concerning whom he mentioned several facts of which he has lately acquired information. There are yet not sufficient materials upon which to commence the work. Mr. Everett expressed some dissatisfaction that the members of Congress friendly to the election of Mr. Clay to the next Presidency did not make a formal nomination of him before the close of the late session of Congress. He thinks it was prevented by Mr. Webster, who he supposes has views upon that office for himself. He says that Mr. Johnston, of Louisiana, was very anxious for a nomination, which would have been made had it not been prevented by Mr. Webster.

I told him that if Mr. Webster had advised against a nomination, under expectations of being himself a candidate, I

thought he would be disappointed; but his advice against a nomination by members of Congress was good. Any Congressional nomination will injure the man in whose favor it will be made. I said it was impossible to foresee what the fluctuations of popular opinion would be. Hitherto there were symptoms of changes of opinion among the members of Congress, but none among the people. These could be indicated only by the elections; and it would be unsafe policy to anticipate them. I had great doubts whether the majorities in the Legislatures of five States would be changed by the approaching elections; and was far from certain that the next Legislature of Kentucky would nominate Mr. Clay in opposition to the re-election of General Jackson. The whole strength of the present Administration rests upon his personal popularity, founded upon his military services. He has surrendered the Indians to the States within the bounds of which they are located. This will strengthen and confirm his popularity in those States, especially as he has burdened the Union with the expense of removing and indemnifying the Indians. He has taken practical ground against internal improvements and domestic industry, which will strengthen him in all the Southern States. He has, as might have been expected, thrown his whole weight into the slave-holding scale; and that interest is so compact, so cemented, and so fervent in action, that there is every prospect it will overpower the discordant and loosely-patched policy of the free. The cause of internal improvement will sink, and that of domestic industry will fall with or after it. There is at present a great probability that this system will be supported by a majority of the people. If the Presidential election should be connected with this question, and turn upon it, Mr. Clay will be the candidate of internal improvement and of the manufactures. But it will be a minority. The Anti-Masonic spirit will operate against him in New York, and perhaps elsewhere.

Everett said that he had been solicited to publish in the North American Review an Anti-Masonic article, in answer to a violent Masonic article in the last number of Walsh's Review, but he had declined. But, he said, he was assured

the Anti-Masons here would support Mr. Clay. But Clay is a Mason, and will not take any ground against them. It was near one o'clock when I left Mr. Everett.

25th. J. B. Davis said that Mr. Webster had yesterday received a letter from Mr. Clay, who approved of the omission to nominate him at the close of the recent session of Congress, and who represented the state of public opinion in the West as entirely satisfactory. I thought the state of public opinion would be collected from the result of the elections, which will commence the next month in Louisiana and then follow successively in the other Western States till the winter. Nothing is more delusive than anticipations of the event of elections; and expectations of great changes in popular suffrages are almost always disappointed. I suppose that the sacrifice of the Indians and of the interest of internal improvement and domestic industry will strengthen, rather than weaken, the popularity of the present Administration. I have cherished the principle and the system of internal improvement, under a conviction that it was for this nation the only path to increasing comforts and well-being, to honor, to glory, and finally to the general improvement of the condition of mankind. This system has had its fluctuations from the time of the establishment of the present Constitution of the United States. During the Administration of Mr. Monroe it was constantly acquiring strength in Congress and in the public opinion. It was then favored by Calhoun and Lowndes, both of whom had hopes of rising upon it, and with them the State of South Carolina was devoted to it. The combination in Congress became by their means so strong that it overpowered the resistance of Mr. Monroe and produced the Act of Congress of April, 1824. The slaveholders of the South have since discovered that it will operate against their interests. Calhoun has turned his back upon it, and Jackson, who to promote his election and obtain Western votes truckled to it for a time, has now taken his decided stand against it. My devotion to it has sharpened all the fangs of envy and malice against it, and multitudes oppose it only because its success would contribute to my reputation. The cause will no doubt survive me, and, if the Union is destined to

continue, will no doubt ultimately triumph. At present it is desperate.

August 14th. "It is," says Cicero, first Tusculan, section fourteenth—"it is a tacit judgment of Nature herself, and the greatest argument in favor of the immortality of souls, that all men take a deep interest in that which will happen after death." "He plants trees," says Statius in his Synephebi, "for the benefit of another century; for what purpose, if the next century were not something to him? The diligent husbandman, then, shall plant trees upon which his own eyes shall never see a berry; and shall not a great man plant laws, institutions, a commonwealth?" I have had my share in planting laws and institutions according to the measure of my ability and opportunities. I would willingly have had more. My leisure is now imposed upon me by the will of higher powers, to which I cheerfully submit, and I plant trees for the benefit of the next age, and of which my own eyes will never behold a berry. To raise forest-trees requires the concurrence of two generations; and even of my lately-planted nuts, seeds, and stones, I may never taste the fruit. Sero arbores quæ alteri seculo prosint.

15th. I finished reading the first Tusculan, upon the contempt of death, and the argument in it is admirable. Philosophy had undoubtedly great influence upon the conduct of individuals in the age of Cicero, and upon his own particularly. The question whether death was an evil was perhaps an idle one. Nature has implanted in all animated beings a horror of death, and has made it doubly terrible to man by the agonies and convulsions which usually precede and attend it, as well as by that interest in the future which Cicero considers as an argument in favor of the immortality of the soul. But God has given to man both reason and passions to check, or, as Lord Bacon says, to mate the fear of death. Many human beings welcome it, many fly to it, and probably there is no aged individual of the human family but has often desired it. The moment of death is the cessation of suffering, and therefore not in itself painful. The sincere believer in Christianity longs for death, but dares not hasten to it; and in spite of all belief he dreads and shrinks from it. I have read this dissertation

at the most favorable moment of my life for giving it all its weight, when I have no plausible motive for wishing to live, when everything that I foresee and believe of futurity makes death desirable, and when I have the clearest indications that it is near at hand. I should belie my conscience should I not acknowledge that the love of life and the horror of dissolution is as strong in me as it ever was at any period of my existence, and that I deeply feel the hollowness of the whole argument of Cicero. It is utterly delusive. Yet I do not believe my hold upon life more tenacious than that of most other human beings, especially of those who have great enjoyment of life. It was a shrewd saying of Sappho, mentioned in a note to D'Olivet's translation, that death was an evil, inasmuch as none of the gods have ever chosen to die. But, although the main argument of this dissertation is fallacious, the style is always charming. We miss the other side of the question. Shakspeare in his "Measure for Measure" is more candid.

18th. I this day finished the reading of the Bible, which I began about the 1st of May last year. This reading has not been so profitable to me as it ought to have been. Among the decays of age which I cannot dissemble to myself is a falling off of the discipline of the mind. The operation of the mind in reading should be like that of the leech upon the body; but the leech sometimes wanders over the veins without taking hold of any one; and so it is in the dissipation of spirits which comes on with the lassitude of years. In my frequent perusals of the Bible heretofore, I have perhaps gathered all the important religious and moral instruction that I am capable of receiving from it; and as for Biblical criticism or controversy, the remnant of my days, if devoted exclusively to these studies, would leave me a mere smatterer in them. The attempt, therefore, would be worse than useless, and I purposely abstain from it. In reflecting upon the time which I still devote to reading, and in meeting the question, what purpose it answers, I find that the object of reading is different at different periods of life. In youth, it is for instruction, for the acquisition of knowledge, and the practical improvement of it. In age, it is for pleasure and pastime. The morning hours which I now devote, one to

the Bible and two to Cicero, bear no fruits. I fear they add little to my knowledge, and nothing to my capacity to do good. They are hours of high enjoyment. But this is not the end of life. If I could hope for a protracted term of possible activity, it would become an indispensable duty to alter this arrangement—to commence the day with action, and to postpone speculation and reading at least until after breakfast. And so, if I recover health and efficient resolution, I will do.

24th. Mr. William Beach Lawrence, who was some time Chargé d'Affaires of the United States at London, paid me a visit. He was appointed Secretary to Mr. Gallatin, and was Chargé d'Affaires in the interval between him and James Barbour. There was some ignorant and malicious chicanery made about the settlement of his accounts after his return from England, and an Act of Congress passed at the last session to authorize the settlement of them, as they should have been settled without it. He says they are settled at last. This has been the summit of President Jackson's statesmanship—to snatch at the letter of a statute which in former Administrations had been construed according to its intention, to forbid the continuance of the former construction as contrary to the law, so as to give himself the appearance of a reformer, and then get a special Act of Congress to remove the senseless obstacle raised by himself.

Lawrence spoke of politics, European and American. He says that the present King of England, when Mr. Gallatin was presented to him, asked him if the people in America spoke English as he did, and whether they wrote English as he spoke it. Lawrence mentioned it as a sample of William the Fourth's sense and breeding. He said also that he had lately made a tour in the Western country, and had visited Mr. Clay at Lexington; found him in fine health and spirits, expecting that the new elections in Kentucky would give an overwhelming majority in his favor, and that he would be nominated by the ensuing Legislature as a candidate for the Presidency in opposition to the re-election of General Jackson. The result of the elections has been a great disappointment; the latest accounts, however, being more favorable than those which preceded.

He said it was probable the Anti-Masonic interest would go for Mr. Clay, a letter having been received from Mr. Clark stating that Mr. Clay had for many years withdrawn from attendance at the lodges. But this counter-check in the Kentucky elections had an inauspicious effect upon his prospects.

30th. I received a morning visit from Mr. Poinsett, who introduced to me Mr. Sevalla, Governor of the State of Mexico, but now in exile. This gentleman manifested a strong feeling for the condition of his country, and an anxious desire for the establishment in it of a system of free and orderly governments; but he appeared to entertain better wishes than hopes. Poinsett said he had come away from South Carolina because it was in every respect too hot for him. The people of that State have been wrought up into a state of frenzy against the tariff, and there is a party among them avowing the determination to nullify the law by the authority of the State. For this paroxysm of popular rage there is no cause; but it verifies an observation of Lord Bacon, that most popular tumults and dissensions arise without adequate cause. Poinsett says that Calhoun is at the bottom of it all, and is now the instigator of the most violent measures. He further said that he himself had consented to be a candidate for the State Legislature.

Quincy, *September* 17th.—Second centennial celebration of the settlement of Boston. I went to the city. At nine I went to the Senate-chamber in the State House, where the City Government and others were assembled for the procession. General William Sullivan was the Chief Marshal of the day. He and the Mayor, H. G. Otis, and Colonel T. H. Perkins, came and offered me their hands, and their salutation was accepted. Numbers of others of my old acquaintances were more cordial. A place had been assigned to me by name in the procession, and two of the Marshals were assigned to me for an escort. The procession moved about ten, passed through the Common, down Tremont, Court, and State Streets to the head of Long Wharf, then returned through State Street and the Old Cornhill to the Old South Meeting-House, where, after a prayer by the minister of the church, Mr. Wisner, and the 100th Psalm, partly sung by a large choir to the tune of Old Hundred, an

oration was delivered by Josiah Quincy, President of Harvard University, worthy of the subject, and received with universal approbation. There was then performed, to the tune of God save the King, a hymn by Mr. Pierpont; and precisely at the moment when they were singing as part of a stanza, "Ye temples that to God rise where our fathers trod, guard well your trust," a bench broke down. A panic seized many of the persons in the western upper gallery that it was giving way, and there was a momentary alarm and a great rush to the door, but it subsided without injury to any one. The choir resumed their hymn. It was followed by a poem delivered by Charles Sprague; very short, and not very good; in irregular verse, poorly spoken, and containing more about Indian savages and the recent revolution in France and General La Fayette than about the settlement of Boston or the Pilgrim Fathers. After Handel's Hallelujah Chorus, the benediction was pronounced by Mr. Frothingham, minister of the First Church, and the procession returned to the State House, whence they dispersed.

Viewed the fireworks on the Common, and made a short appearance at Lieutenant-Governor Winthrop's evening party, where I met again some of the persons I had seen in the day, Mr. Martin, one of the members of the House of Representatives from South Carolina in Congress, Mr. Krehmer, of the Russian Legation, Everetts, Bulfinchs, Coolidges, Crowninshields, Silsbees, and some whom I did not know. There was lamentation upon the issue of the recent elections in the State of Maine, and exultation at that in the city of Charleston, South Carolina—a damper to the Nullification doctrine.

Mr. Joseph Richardson, the Representative in Congress from Plymouth district, of which Quincy forms a part, and Mr. John B. Davis, said they wished to converse with me, and would call upon me to-morrow. Edward Everett asked me if he might publish a letter which I wrote him a few days since in answer to some enquiries from him relating to the negotiation of the treaty with the Porte. I thought best it should not be published. He asked me what I said of going to Congress. I told him I had nothing to say about it. Ten or twelve days since appeared in the Boston Courier a paragraph proposing

that the people of the Plymouth district should elect me as their Representative to the next Congress. As the editor of the paper has been uniformly hostile to me, I supposed the nomination was made with the same spirit, and did not imagine it was seriously thought of by any one. It was to this nomination, however, that Everett alluded, and he told me that Mr. Richardson declined a re-election.

18th. I was called into the house to Mr. John B. Davis. While Davis was here, Mr. Richardson came, and Davis said he had seen in the newspaper that he declined a re-election to the next Congress. He said it was a determination long since taken by him; that he thought it due to the people of his congregation at Hingham, who had been exceedingly reluctant at his going even to the present Congress; and he came purposely to enquire of me if I would serve, if elected, as member for the district.

I said I had observed in a paper, the editor of which, without any cause known to me, had invariably been hostile to me, a nomination to that effect, about ten days since. From whom the nomination came I knew not, but had believed it made in no friendly spirit towards me. I had not supposed it serious, or that any person had a thought of holding me up for that election.

Mr. Richardson said that if I would serve he believed the election could be carried by a large majority, as the Old Colony Memorial, and the Hingham Gazette, the only newspapers printed in the district, and another paper published in the adjoining district, and taken by some of his constituents, would support the nomination; but if I should decline, it was not probable that the district would unite upon any other person, and there would be no election. He then said that he thought that the service in the House of Representatives of an ex-President of the United States, instead of degrading the individual, would elevate the Representative character.

I said I had in that respect no scruple whatever. No person could be degraded by serving the people as a Representative in Congress. Nor, in my opinion, would an ex-President of the United States be degraded by serving as a Selectman of his

town, if elected thereto by the people. But age and infirmity had their privileges and their disqualifications. I had not the slightest desire to be elected to Congress, and could not consent to be a candidate for election. I knew not how the election would turn, and, if chosen, it might depend upon circumstances whether I should deem it my duty to serve or to decline. The state of my health, the degree of opposition to the choice, the character of the candidate in opposition, might each or all contribute to my determination.

Mr. Richardson said this was sufficient, and he would go to work. He desired Mr. Davis to consider as secret and confidential what had passed here; which he promised.

22d. The Deacon (Spear) spoke of the election for the House of Representatives, to come on the first Monday in November, and asked me if I considered myself an inhabitant of Quincy. I said, certainly. If not an inhabitant of Quincy, I was an inhabitant nowhere. He said that was all he wished to know; but he nevertheless did give some further hints that there were persons very desirous of electing me to Congress, and others equally anxious to prevent it. He said the Jackson men would do everything to defeat the choice, and that they included all the most violent men of both the parties—federal and Democratic. He said there would be a district convention soon, to fix upon the person to be chosen; that he had formerly attended these meetings, but it was rather hard for Quincy to have to send so far. I asked how it happened that Quincy had been cast into the Plymouth district for elections to Congress. He said he attributed it to Mr. Thomas Greenleaf, who was in the Council when the thing was done, and the object of it was to make Plymouth a certainly federal district; but now, what with Anti-Masonics and Jackson men, parties were all broken up, and no one could tell what any man was.

25th. Visit from Mr. Bailey, who is yet undetermined whether to decline a re-election to Congress from the Norfolk district or not. He had expected that General Dearborn would be elected in his place; but he now believed the General was not heartily enough Anti-Masonic to carry the election. Mr. Mann will also be one of the prominent candidates, and there

were some doubts of the correctness of his principles. Mr. Bailey spoke of the nomination, which first appeared in the Boston Courier, of me to represent the Plymouth district in the next Congress. Where and with whom and in what motive this project originated is yet a mystery; but it has taken root in the district, and I received this morning the Hingham Gazette of yesterday, in which my name is proposed in an editorial article and in two communications. Mr. Bailey said he had been asked by several persons whether I would accept the office if elected, and enquired whether he might answer that question if again put to him, as it certainly would be.

I said I could not answer it myself. To say that I would accept would be so near to asking for a vote, that I did not feel disposed to go so far. I wished the people to act spontaneously, at their own discretion. If they should elect me, whether I could serve them might depend upon circumstances. The meeting of the Congress would not be till December of the next year. What the state of things might then be I could not foresee. If I should finally decline, I would give notice of it to the people of the district in season to enable them to agree upon another person to take the place as effectually as they could now. Mr. Bailey said there was no prospect that they could now agree upon a candidate, or that a choice would be effected, if I should decline.

The eleventh volume commences with the following:

SONNET TO A SUNDIAL.

Thou silent herald of Time's ceaseless flight,
  Say, couldst thou speak, what warning voice were thine?
  Shade, fitted but to mark how others shine,
Dark, sullen witness of resplendent light,
In day's broad glare, and when the noontide bright
  Of prosperous fortune sheds the ray divine,
  Thy services attend us, but decline
The clouds of morning and the glooms of night.
Yet are thy counsels faithful, just, and wise:
  They bid us grasp the moments as they pass,

Snatch the retrieveless sunbeam as he flies,
Nor lose one sand of life's revolving glass,
Aspiring still with energy sublime
By deathless deeds to give Eternity to Time.

October 13th. Mr. Richardson and Mr. Lincoln called upon me this morning and informed me of the proceedings of the Republican Convention yesterday at Halifax. Two Conventions had been called in the newspapers, both to meet at Halifax, to fix upon a candidate to represent the district of Plymouth in the Twenty-Second Congress. One call was to the Republicans, and the other was to the National Republicans. The first met yesterday, and the second is to meet this day. The Republicans, I suppose, are those who in the former party divisions declined acting with the federalists. Their meeting was first appointed for to-morrow, but the day was then altered to yesterday, probably for the purpose of preceding the meeting of this day. Mr. Richardson observed that Mr. Lincoln had been present at the meeting and would inform me of their proceedings. Mr. Lincoln said that eleven towns had been represented in the Convention. The usual practice had been for the Republicans in each town to send to the Convention as many members as the town was authorized to send to the Legislature of the State; and the agreement was, that all the members should support the person selected by the majority. But yesterday the number of volunteer intruders exceeded that of the regular delegations from the towns. These intruders were Jackson men—officers of the custom-houses, postmasters, and Jackson office-hunters; of whom there were ten from Middleborough, six from Plymouth, and stragglers wherever they could be found. They first gave notice that they would not be bound by the vote of the majority, and then moved that the Convention should be dissolved without making any nomination. To this the delegations from the towns would not consent; but upon taking the vote for going into a nomination, the vote was thirty for and thirty-two against it. The Convention then was dissolved, and the delegates from the towns met separately, chose the same Moderator, Seth Sprague, and another Secretary, and then unanimously voted to support

John Quincy Adams to represent the district in the Twenty-Second Congress. The other party had also a separate meeting, and nominated Mr. Turner, of Scituate—not a Jackson man, but merely to divide the vote, and in the hope that the Anti-Masons, who are to meet next week, will vote also for Turner. Mr. Richardson and Mr. Lincoln said they had thought proper to give me this information, to guard against any misrepresentation that might be made to me of the transaction. I thanked them for their kind attention, and said that I should acquiesce entirely in the course which might be taken by the people of the district. And so I am launched again upon the faithless wave of politics.

14th. My brother sent me a printed handbill, headed Republican Nomination, announcing that at a Convention of Republican citizens from various towns in Plymouth Congressional district it was unanimously resolved that John Quincy Adams should be recommended to the electors of Plymouth Congressional district to represent them in the Twenty-Second Congress; and in the evening I received a letter from I. L. Hedge, as Secretary of the Convention of National Republicans, held yesterday, informing me that they also had selected me as their candidate, and expressing the wish that I would accept the nomination.

24th. I read the fragments of Cicero's poetry, and with them completed the perusal of everything written by him now known to be extant. It has occupied an average of two hours a day for ten months, and has left me with a desire to spend at least as much more time in studying him more profoundly. Whether this opportunity will be indulged me is doubtful. I am now precisely at the age when the life of Cicero was so tragically closed; and the time which can remain for me in this life should be otherwise spent than in studies which should have been completed thirty years since. Lessons of wisdom can henceforth be of little avail for practical use to me. Lessons of language, rhetoric, and logic are still less susceptible of being turned to profitable account. But the taste for classical literature, formed in youth, adheres to one in age, when it can no longer be of much benefit. The principal poetry of

Cicero now extant is a translation in Latin hexameters of a Greek poem of Aratus upon astronomy, called the Phenomena. The original of Aratus is also extant; and, the work of Cicero being mutilated, Grotius undertook to supply the deficient parts. I read this morning in Ernesti's edition, containing only the verses of Cicero, about four hundred lines. The versification is not to be compared with that of Virgil or of Ovid, perhaps not even with that of Lucretius. There was a secret of harmony in Latin versification which Cicero, though a perfect master of all the possibilities of harmony in Latin prose, did not discover. The poem of Aratus is a description of the celestial constellations—less lively and poetical than the Astronomics of Manilius. The translation by Cicero was a youthful exercise, but he gives an extract from it of near a hundred lines in his books de Naturâ Deorum. There are a few lines upon his own Consulate, and the two so ridiculed by Quinctilian and Juvenal. One of them—Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea linguæ—he acknowledges and defends. The other was probably never written by him. It does not appear to have been quoted against him by Antony, though far more open to his scoffing commentary. It is remarkable that in all the fragments preserved there is not one other censurable line.

November 4th. At six o'clock to Mrs. McLean's, No. 44 Beacon Street, where I was present at the ceremony of her marriage with Mr. William Lee, which was performed by the Rev. Mr. Green. There was a peculiarity in this solemnization which excited feelings and reflections different from those of any other wedding at which I had ever been present. The parties are each about threescore years of age. I knew them both in the heyday of youth, before either of them was first married. I then also knew their former partners, now in the grave. The numerous family of the Amorys in both branches were social companions of my youth. Of six brothers of the present bride, the three survivors, John, Rufus, and Francis, were now present, as was the youngest sister, Mrs. Bethune, with her husband. But Mrs. Codman and Mrs. Lowell, with her husband, were not there. Mrs. McLean has no children, but about half the company present were of a subsequent

generation—children of my old acquaintance. There were of the former generation also Daniel Davis, George Blake, John Gray, Joseph Russell, Jonathan Davis, and his wife; H. G. Otis, who did not speak to me, and some others. Mr. Lee's son Thomas was there, and Mr. Green prayed for him and his sisters, as part of the marriage service. This was one of the singularities of the occasion. The couple thus united cannot have many years to live together. Their cotemporaries, blooming in youth as I had seen them all, are now, some bending under the weight of years, and faces where I had seen roses in bloom were now furrowed, wrinkled, and haggard. I, too, have gone through a corresponding change, and was an object of meditation to them, as they were to me. Cupid and Hymen! what worshippers of yours are these! There was a numerous evening party invited at eight o'clock, from which I made, however, my escape.

6th. The newspaper of this evening brought the last returns of the Congressional election for the district of Plymouth. Twenty-two towns gave 2565 votes, of which 1817 were for John Quincy Adams, 373 for Arad Thompson (Jacksonite), 279 for William Baylies (federal), and 96 scattering votes. The authentic returns will perhaps make some slight difference in the number of votes, but can make none in the result. I am a member elect of the Twenty-Second Congress.

7th. Spent the evening in writing and reflecting upon this new incident, which has drifted me back again amidst the breakers of the political ocean. It is also a novelty in the history of the country, and as a precedent may have no unimportant bearing upon future events. By the Constitution of the United States, the President is re-eligible as long as he lives. Washington, Jefferson, and Madison voluntarily retired after one re-election, and Jefferson no doubt intended to make the example a practical exposition of constitutional principle. It was followed by Mr. Monroe, perhaps with not much cordiality, and will be continued as long as a Presidential term of eight years shall wear out the popularity of the person holding the office. One of the consequences of this has been and will be that ex-Presidents will survive for many years the termina-

tion of their offices; that as individuals they will take a part in public affairs, and that they will sometimes solicit, and sometimes be elected to, subordinate offices. All the preceding Presidents have held offices of a public nature after the expiration of their Presidential service; none, however, as a member of either House of Congress; and there are many who think it now a derogatory descent. This is a mere prejudice; and had I alleged my former station as a reason for rejecting the suffrages of the people assigning me a seat in the House of Representatives, I should not merely have been chargeable with arrogance, but should have exposed myself to ridicule. So far as concerns myself, I consider this new call to the public service as a misfortune, inasmuch as it takes from me the last hope of an old age of quiet and leisure. I am still to be buffeted with political rancor and personal malignity, with more than equal chances of losing the favor even of those who now think they honor themselves by their suffrages more than me. My return to public life in a subordinate station is disagreeable to my family, and disapproved by some of my friends; though no one of them has expressed that disapprobation to me. For the discharge of the duties of this particular station I never was eminently qualified, possessing no talent for extemporaneous public speaking, and at this time being in the decline of my faculties, both of mind and body. This event, therefore, gives me deep concern and anxious forebodings. Yet can I not withhold my grateful acknowledgment to the Disposer of human events, and to the people of my native region, for this unexpected testimonial of their continued confidence after all the combinations of personal rivals and political competitors to shake it. "The heart knoweth its own bitterness, and a stranger intermeddleth not with its joys." No one knows, and few conceive, the agony of mind that I have suffered from the time that I was made by circumstances, and not by my volition, a candidate for the Presidency till I was dismissed from that station by the failure of my re-election. They were feelings to be suppressed; and they were suppressed. No human being has ever heard me complain. Domestic calamity, far heavier than any political disappointment or disaster can possi-

bly be, overtook me immediately after my fall from power, and the moment of my distress was seized by an old antagonist to indulge a hatred overflowing with the concentrated rancor of forty years, and who could not resist the pleasure of giving me what he thought the finishing blow at the moment when he saw me down. It seemed as if I was deserted by all mankind; and precisely at that time the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, a literary and scientific institution of my native State, which for a series of years during my prosperity had annually elected me their President when it was impossible for me to attend their meetings, thought proper to substitute another President in my place. In the French opera of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, the minstrel, Blondel, sings under the walls of his prison a song, beginning:

"O, Richard! O, mon Roi!
L'univers t'abandonne."

When I first heard this song, forty-five years ago, at one of the first representations of that delightful play, it made an indelible impression upon my memory, without imagining that I should ever feel its force so much closer home. In the year 1829 scarce a day passed that did not bring it to my thoughts. In the course of last winter a vacancy occurred in the Board of Overseers of Harvard University. Absent, I was very unexpectedly elected to fill that vacancy. I attributed this to the personal friendship and influence of President Quincy. But this call upon me by the people of the district in which I reside, to represent them in Congress, has been spontaneous, and, although counteracted by a double opposition, federalist and Jacksonite, I have received nearly three votes in four throughout the district. My election as President of the United States was not half so gratifying to my inmost soul. No election or appointment conferred upon me ever gave me so much pleasure. I say this to record my sentiments; but no stranger intermeddleth with my joys, and the dearest of my friends have no sympathy with my sensations.

8th. I finished reading the oration for Roscius of Ameria this morning, and thus complete the perusal of the existing

works of Cicero, begun last December. I read also that part of the dedication of Ernesti to Stigliz which is missing in my copy of Ernesti's second edition. It is worthy of more than one reperusal. Had I forty years ago duly read this dedication, and perseveringly devoted the leisure of one year without interruption to the study of Cicero in his own language, my time would have been better occupied than it was, and perhaps my life might have been more useful to my country and my fellow-creatures than it has been. I gave too much of my youth to written translations—from Phædrus, Suetonius, Cæsar, Virgil, Horace, Cicero, Cornelius Nepos, Tacitus, and Juvenal—besides the still more unprofitable labor that I wasted upon German translations—Wieland and Gentz and Gellert. The dedication to Stigliz is an argument in behalf of classical literature, and embraces all that can be said in its favor. It treats with just contempt the idea that the eminent Greek and Latin authors are to be studied merely for the acquisition of the languages. It considers the classics as masters of morals, teachers of practical wisdom and virtue. It breathes the spirit of Greece and Rome, and swells with the enthusiasm of liberty and of intellectual power. Of Cicero I have more to say hereafter.

14th. In the evening I finished reading to my wife Galt's Life of Lord Byron. This person has now been seven years dead, and the public interest in him has not abated. He was one of the wonders of his age, and was, like Napoleon Bonaparte, the torso of a Hercules. A "grand homme manqué" —a club-footed Apollo—in mind as in person. There are sublime and beautiful passages of detail in his poetry; and if he had finished his Don Juan it would have been a worthy companion to Voltaire's Pucelle, in the Temple of Cloacina upon the summit of Parnassus. Galt had a slight acquaintance with him, having been for some time a fellow-passenger with him on his first voyage to Greece, and feels kind to his memory. He publishes this life of him because, he says, Moore's has not been satisfactory to the public. This book is very amusing, seldom tedious, and has passages of fine writing. But he ranks Byron rather above Milton as a poet, and is half inclined to give him the pas—before Shakspeare. He shows that Byron

was jealous of Shakspeare, and that he was very indignant at being compared to Rousseau, because Rousseau was the son of a watchmaker. He likens Byron to Raphael. If Raphael had introduced his own portrait into every picture he ever painted, and given himself in every picture the attributes of some fine mad devil of Pandemonium, there would have been more resemblance between him and the noble poet.

New York, *December* 12th.—Mr. James Brown, our late Minister to France, was lodging here, and spent half an hour with us while we were at breakfast. He was then summoned to embark, having taken passage in a vessel for New Orleans. Since we saw him last May in Philadelphia, he has lost his wife, who, after a lingering and threatening illness, died almost instantaneously about three months since. He is himself very unwell, and looks like a man bowed down to the earth. He goes to New Orleans to meet Mr. Clay. He spoke of the message, and of an article of severe comment upon it in Walsh's National Gazette. After dinner, I visited Mr. Monroe at his son-in-law's, Samuel L. Gouverneur's. Mrs. Hay was also there. Gouverneur is going to-morrow for Washington. Mr. Monroe's health is infirm, and his appearance feeble and emaciated. Mrs. Monroe and Judge Hay died about three months since, within a week of each other. Mr. Monroe told me that Henry Lee had written to him concerning certain correspondence which had passed between General Jackson and Mr. Monroe at two periods—the defence of New Orleans, and the taking of St. Mark's and Pensacola—Lee contending that Jackson was authorized to make those captures. He spoke also of his correspondence with H. L. White on his speech at dinner 8th January, 1829; said Forsyth had reported to Jackson Calhoun's proposal to bring Jackson to trial for breach of orders in taking St. Mark's and Pensacola; and mentioned a letter said by Crawford to have been referred to by Calhoun and produced by Mr. Monroe at the Cabinet meetings on the Seminole War. Mr. Monroe said Crawford and Calhoun had both written to him concerning that letter from Jackson, in which he had written that he would take the Spanish forts in Florida if, without writing at all, Mr. Monroe would barely say to John

Rhea that he might go on. Mr. Monroe said that he had never *read* this letter from Jackson till some months after the Cabinet meetings; that he received it when ill of a fever; that he had answered Crawford's to him concerning it by referring him to the members of the Administration who were present at the meetings—Calhoun, Wirt, and myself. I told him that Crawford had written to me concerning it, the purport of my answer, and that I had received from him no reply.

He spoke also of the correspondence between General Jackson and Mr. Southard respecting some remarks made by Mr. Southard at a dinner-table in Fredericksburg, reported and misrepresented by a tale-bearer. Mr. Monroe said Jackson had treated him very ill in that correspondence. Gouverneur thought otherwise; that Jackson had cautiously avoided all disrespectful notice of Mr. Monroe, but had treated Southard himself with brutality. Mr. Monroe said he would show me the correspondence relating to the transactions in the Seminole War.

13th. David Williams, the only surviving captor of Major André, with one of the Aldermen and another young man, came to visit me. He had the silver medal given him by Congress hung over his neck by a three-colored silk ribbon. He said he was seventy-seven years of age; and he related to me all the circumstances of the taking of André. He was anxious to obtain an increase of his pension of two hundred dollars a year, and was warmly seconded by the Alderman, who said the pension had been sufficient for his comfortable maintenance while he was young and able to work upon his farm; that was now in the possession of his son, a respectable man, who worked upon it himself; but the days of labor of the old man were now past, and some addition to his pittance of pension was necessary to make the remnant of his life easy.

I advised that he should petition Congress, and get the member of the House from his district to present and support his petition, which I hoped and believed would be successful. He expressed deep mortification that the integrity of the captors of André should have been disputed. I observed that it never had been in Congress but once, and that their honor had

then been signally vindicated. He solemnly asseverated that he and his partners hesitated not a single instant in rejecting André's climax of offers—from ten to ten thousand guineas, and dry-goods to any amount they would ask. He spoke in terms of high veneration of my father, who, he said, had done more for the Revolution than *he* had, though in a different way.

PHILADELPHIA, 15th.—After breakfast Mr. Nicklin called, and informed me that Mr. Southard was at an hotel in Third Street, where I immediately accompanied Mr. Nicklin, and found him. He is only recovering from a violent bilious fever, which confined him upwards of three months. He was going to Gloucester County upon business as Attorney-General, but had been advised by his friends and physicians not to proceed in this weather. His nephew and another young man were with him, but retired, as did Mr. Nicklin. I had an hour of conversation with him, in which, with reference to this correspondence of Crawford and Calhoun with Mr. Monroe concerning the Cabinet meetings on the transactions of the Seminole War, I mentioned the scene at the last Cabinet meeting of Mr. Monroe's Administration which Crawford attended; when I was commenting severely upon Porter's exploit at Porto Rico, Crawford, though concurring in the opinion that Porter's conduct had been utterly lawless, broke out in a burst of fury, "Jackson's conduct in Florida was ten times worse." Southard said he remembered it perfectly.

At Mr. Biddle's I met Judge Hopkinson, R. Walsh, and R. Peters. Much conversation on the President's message, and the new attack on the Bank of the United States; on the prospects of election of a Senator of the United States at Harrisburg in the place of William Marks, and on a complaint from Charleston, South Carolina, against the President of the United States Branch Bank there, for taking an anxious interest in the city elections to the State Legislature. There was discussion also upon the propriety of my taking a seat in the House of Representatives of the United States—Hopkinson and Walsh disapproving, Biddle and Peters approving; John Sergeant, who came in after dinner, being, with some reserve, also in the negative.

WASHINGTON, 22d.—In the evening I had a visit from Dutee J. Pearce, a member of the House of Representatives from Rhode Island. He spoke of the business transacting in the two Houses of Congress. The House of Representatives are prosecuting before the Senate the impeachment of James H. Peck, Judge of the District Court of the United States in the State of Missouri, upon the charge of committing to prison for contempt of Court, and suspending from practice for eighteen months, Edward Luke Lawless, an attorney of the Court. His offence was publishing, in a newspaper at St. Louis, strictures, which the Judge thought contemptuous, upon one of his decrees. Pearce said there was a decision this day upon an incidental question, showing that it was a party prosecution. Lawless himself was upon examination, and, after answering to a question from the Judge's counsel, Mr. Wirt, that he was contingently interested in the event of the suit upon which he had criticised the Judge's decree, declined answering the question to what *extent* he had been interested. On appeal to the Senate, whether he should be required to answer, the decision was, twenty-three to nineteen, that he should not, by an Administration and opposition vote, with two or three exceptions on each side.

Pearce spoke of the correspondence said to be pending between President Jackson and Vice-President Calhoun—upon Calhoun's advice and opinions at the Cabinet meetings in 1818 upon Jackson's transactions in Florida during the Seminole War. Pearce has his accounts from Virgil Maxcy, a devoted friend of Calhoun's—a native of Rehoboth, Massachusetts, brother of Mr. Maxcy sometime President of the Providence College; settled in Maryland, where he has been a member of the Legislature and candidate for many offices; and recently appointed, through Calhoun's influence, to the office of Solicitor of the Treasury, created by an Act of the last Congress. Pearce told me the story of the correspondence between Jackson and Calhoun as he had it from Maxcy; and his authority was Calhoun—a version accommodated to Calhoun's present interest, and false to the extent of pretending that I had in the Cabinet meetings on the Seminole War concurred with Calhoun and

the other members of the Administration in wishing to bring Jackson to a Court of Enquiry, and that Mr. Monroe had supported Jackson against us all!

23d. Wrote a letter to General La Fayette, to send by General Bernard, being in answer to La Fayette's letter to me of the 8th of September last. It is somewhat hazardous to express at present opinions upon the recent revolution in France, to one so conspicuous an actor in it as La Fayette. New and great changes there may be expected at no distant period of time; and while it may be proper to share in the general joy and approbation at the triumph of popular principles over arbitrary power and despotic usurpation, so far as it is yet known to have proceeded, it is still prudent to rejoice with trembling hope, and anxiously to await the vicissitudes yet to occur, without suffering our eyes to be dazzled with visions of glory which may never be realized. Cheering approbation of the past may be coupled with ardent hope for the future without extending applause to that which is questionable in principle, or prematurely censuring that which must ultimately be revised.

24th. Our house is a hospital of invalids. My cough continues, varying in its symptoms, but no better. A hoarse sore throat every night. Lungs loaded with phlegm every morning. I consulted Huntt, and he advised trash which will tease me and leave me just where I am—rye mush and milk for breakfast, a plaster on the breast, Seidlitz powders, and no suppers. I do not sup. The rest is about as effective as the bread and cheese of Molière's "Médecin malgré lui."

Huntt said I had once been elected to deliver an anniversary discourse to the Columbian Institute, and had then declined, with an intimation that I might perform the service at a future day. He was desired to ask if I would undertake it now.

I said, No. I was deeply sensible to the kindness of the Columbian Institute in re-electing me their President last year. But I had then informed Mr. Dickins that I could neither accept the office nor attend the meetings of the society for the present. It might perhaps be otherwise hereafter; but the same state of things continues. It was unnecessary to assign my motives; but, should my reasons hereafter cease, I shall

again attend the meetings of the society, and will perform any office within my ability which they may assign to me. My reasons are, that the principal members of the Administration are now members of the society; that one of them has acted towards me the part of a wilful and knavish slanderer; that two others of them, Berrien and Branch, have returned kindness and hospitality from me with personal disrespect and dishonorable political malice. I can have no voluntary association with them.

25th. After service I visited Mr. Edward Everett at Bernard's. He has been dangerously ill since his arrival here, and, until within two or three days, not able to take his seat in the House of Representatives. Although convalescent, his appearance is now far from healthy. While I was with him, Mr. Letcher, of Kentucky, Mr. Vance, of Ohio, and G. S. Bulfinch came in. The accounts from Ohio and Kentucky are not so favorable to Mr. Clay's prospects as had been anticipated. It is ascertained that his friend J. J. Crittenden cannot be elected to the Senate of the United States. Probably he himself, if set up as a candidate by his friends, would not be more successful. The chance is that Rowan will be re-elected; and the last resource of Mr. Clay's friends is to endeavor to postpone the election till the next session of the Legislature; that is, to send back the question to the people, and the chapter of accidents.

Mr. Joseph M. White, the delegate from Florida in the House of Representatives, was here in the evening. A bookseller of the city had advertised for sale a copy of Evelyn's Sylva of the last edition of 1825, in two quarto volumes. I sent immediately and purchased it, but the bookseller sent me word that Mr. White was at present using one of the volumes of the work, and wished to retain it a day or two. White himself confirmed this, and I desired him to keep the volumes as long as he should have occasion for them. Mr. White mentioned to me that in the reports from the Navy Department at this session of Congress it is announced that after the present year the plantations of live-oaks in Florida, which I had commenced, and which are now in a very flourishing state, will be

abandoned and broken up, on the allegation that along the whole coast of Florida and of Georgia nature produces the live-oaks in so great abundance that an artificial plantation can be of no use there. This, White says, is an egregious misrepresentation, and is contradicted by a mass of testimony upon which I commenced the plantation. There are now, he says, seventy thousand trees on the ground set apart for it by my direction, requiring an expense not exceeding seven thousand dollars to maintain, and which will now be abandoned to perish or come to nothing. He wishes to have the plantation established by a special Act of Congress, and not to depend on the discretion of the Executive, and was now consulting Evelyn for facts which would aid his argument. He asked me to write on the subject; but I thought it would be useless at present. I advised him to consult Du Hamel upon Plantations, as well as Evelyn.

I received a letter from R. Walsh, Jr., asking me likewise to write upon the Message and the Colonial question.

26th. I had visits from Mr. Swann, the District Attorney, and Mr. Daniel Brent. Mr. Brent spoke of the treaty with Turkey, now before the Senate, and said it was very doubtful whether it would be ratified; that it was very loosely drawn up, and had in it a secret article of the import mentioned to me by Matthew L. Davis, but one which in the French language was susceptible of a construction which placed the United States upon a less favorable footing in the Turkish dominions than other nations which had treaties with the Porte; that Commodore Biddle and Mr. Offley had both warmly protested against this article, and had assigned their reasons for the protest, declaring that they signed the treaty with great reluctance on account of this article.

It is remarkable that my instructions to Offley and Crane had expressly forbidden their assent to any article incompatible with the neutrality of the United States, and expressly cautioned them against equivocations of translation in the use of the languages.

Mr. Everett was here this evening. I answered Mr. Walsh's letter, and declined writing for publication upon the President's

message and upon the Colonial Trade question. The time for writing upon these subjects has not yet arrived: whether it will ever come is far from certain. The attempt to direct public opinion is always hazardous—often desperate—and the moment to act must be waited for with untiring patience and seized with instinctive sagacity. Preparation for it, however, would be useful, and that I shall not neglect. I have begun writing, with the intention of employing my time to some purpose this winter.

28th. Paid visits to Mr. Roux de Rochelle and Mr. Vaughan, Ministers from France and Great Britain, Barons Sacken and Stackelberg, and Mr. Bankhead. Mr. Roux de Rochelle arrived here last summer, as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from Charles X., King of France. Very soon after his arrival, the revolution of 29th July expelled Charles X. from the throne of France. Mr. Roux floated with the tide —acknowledged allegiance to the new Government, and received new credentials from Louis Philippe, which he presented to the President, and was received. By the last accounts from France it appears that he has been already superseded by Mr. Serrurier, who was Minister from France here during our last war with Great Britain and at the time of the fall of Napoleon. Mr. Roux has been many years a subaltern in the Department of Foreign Affairs. His son was Secretary to the Legation, and he brought with him his wife, and a large collection of pictures of the French and Italian schools. He told me that Mr. Sears, of Boston, and his family were passengers with them in the vessel in which they came from France. Neither Mr. Roux nor any one of his family speaks our language.

I had declined an invitation to dine with Mr. Vaughan on Christmas-day. I had now some conversation with him upon the recent accounts from England, which are indicative of great vicissitudes and portend mighty revolutions. The Duke of Wellington and his Administration have fallen; and a Whig Ministry, at the head of which is Earl Grey, have taken their places. The House of Commons, the Church, and the national debt are to be the first objects of reform. The King and Queen, with the Cabinet Ministers, were to have been present at the dinner at Guildhall on Lord Mayor's day, 9th November. But

two days before, the Lord Mayor wrote a letter to the Duke of Wellington advising him not to come unless very strongly guarded, for that there was a design to raise a mob and to attack his person. This letter was read by Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons, where the information of the intended personal attack upon the Duke of Wellington was cheered. The King, royal family, and Ministers did not attend the Lord Mayor's feast. There were riots, but not of much importance. A week after, in the House of Commons, on the motion to go into a committee of supply, there was a majority of thirty votes against the Ministers, all of whom the next day resigned. The new Ministers come in pledged to bring forward a plan for a reform in Parliament.

29th. Visit from Mr. Vance, a member of the House of Representatives from the State of Ohio. Vance said that some of the friends of General Jackson were speaking of the downfall of the military Administration in England, upon which he told them he heartily wished the military Administration in this country would follow their example, and their king too. In France there has been also more than one change of Ministry; and the convulsion in the Netherlands has completely separated the two parts of that kingdom. It appears to be impossible that this event should pass off without producing a general war in Europe. The movements in the Catholic Netherlands all tend to the ultimate reunion of that country with France. Geographically, historically, by language and religion, they properly belong to France. They enjoyed the benefits of that union for twenty years, from the battle of Jemmapes till the overthrow of Napoleon, when, by the general parcelling out of Europe at the Congress of Vienna, they were united with the old Dutch Republic, to form a kingdom for the House of Orange. The King of the Netherlands is a man of good intentions, moderate abilities, and indefatigable devotion to his duties. His government throughout his dominions has been patriotic and paternal. The revolt has not been so much against him as against the unnatural union into which the Belgians were forced by the Congress of Vienna; and the result shows that the union of men under one Gov-

ernment must be held together by natural ties or by military despotism. The disruption of the kingdom of the Netherlands was the immediate and inevitable consequence of the revolution in France. The King of the Netherlands, sustained by his Batavian subjects and army, but deserted by the Belgian portion of his troops, after a few feeble and ineffectual military struggles and proclamations, had acknowledged the independence of the Belgian provinces, as have the five European allies of the Congress of Vienna. But they have forbidden the Belgians to constitute a republic, and have recommended to them a sovereign of the House of Nassau. The Belgian Provisional Government have agreed to adopt a limited monarchy for their Government, but have excluded forever the House of Orange from the throne. Meanwhile, Russia, Austria, and Prussia are raising armies by the hundred thousand; France is doing the same, and Ate hot from hell already shows her face. There is a premature rumor by the accounts this day received that the Emperor of Russia has declared war against France. I believe it impossible that the ensuing year should pass over without a war in Europe.

30th. I received visits from Mr. Burrows, of New York, and from Mr. Vaughan, the British Minister. Burrows told me that he came here to see if he could not prevail upon Congress to pass the bill now before them in favor of Mr. Monroe. Ten or eleven years ago, Burrows, being then barely of age, was employed, I believe, as a bearer of dispatches to Sweden. I heard nothing of him from that time till, some two or three years since, the newspapers gave notice that Mr. Burrows had generously lent a thousand dollars to Mr. Monroe to enable him, with his family, to visit his daughter at New York. About four months since, the corvette which Baron Krudener had purchased for the Emperor of Russia, having sailed from New York with the Baron on board, was overtaken by a gale or hurricane, which made her a perfect wreck. In this condition she was picked up by a vessel belonging to Mr. Burrows and brought back to New York. For the service rendered on that occasion Mr. Burrows declined receiving any compensation; in consequence of which, by the direction of the President, a

letter was written to Mr. Burrows by Mr. Van Buren presenting to him the thanks of the Government of the United States for this signal instance of humanity and disinterested magnanimity. Mr. Burrows said it was well known he was for Mr. Clay for next President of the United States, and he fully believed the whole electoral vote of the State of New York would be for Clay; that on his arrival here he immediately received an invitation to a private dinner at the President's, and had dined with him yesterday; that he was to dine this day with Mr. Van Buren, who had also sent him a card of invitation from Mr. Vaughan to his ball to-morrow, and Mr. Van Buren had invited him to go with him in his carriage. But he was not to be bought; and he had expressed his sentiments so freely to the President that he told him he was the most independent man he had seen since he was President. Last week Captain Law, the Collector of the port of New London, was removed, and a man from New Hampshire appointed in his place. Burrows said he had told the President it was the most unpopular act he had ever done; that Law was a man of most respectable character, universally beloved, an old Revolutionary officer, and one of the very few survivors from the old Jersey prison-ship. The President told him that he had been prevailed upon to remove Captain Law at the unanimous and earnest representations of all the friends of the Administration in New Hampshire, but that he would give him another office, better than the one he had taken from him. Burrows spoke of a line of communication which he had established by regular packets from New York to Carthagena, from thence to Chagres, and then across the isthmus to Panama; also of his having volunteered to give bonds for Samuel Swartout when he was appointed Collector at New York, and could not otherwise have made up the amount of bonds required by law, and could not have held the office. Swartout had refused to remove any of the friends of the last Administration from their places in the custom-house, and last week was attacked for this forbearance in Mr. Van Buren's paper, the New York Courier and Enquirer. He wished me to speak to J. W. Taylor in behalf of Mr. Monroe, which I promised to do, and said he had persuaded Mr. Mal-

lary, of Vermont, to support the bill, but that the great difficulty was with the members from Virginia.

January, 1831.—

Lord of creation, will Thine eye
Behold a mortal's adoration,
And from Thy living throne on high
Receive his humble supplication?

His thanks, for blessings scattered still
O'er all his days without restriction?
His meek submission to thy will;
Tried in the furnace of affliction?

His praise? O God! can mortal praise
Admittance gain in heavenly story,
While angels and archangels raise
Immortal anthems to Thy glory?

His prayer?—his humble, fervent prayer,
For good, to fill his heart with gladness,
Or, if thy judgments he must bear,
Thy aid, to soothe his soul in sadness?

Be joy or sorrow, gracious Lord,
Henceforth to me thy destined measure;
Oh, let me ever bless Thy word,
Resigned or grateful, at Thy pleasure.

January 1st, *Saturday*, IV. 30. "Then the priests the Levites arose and blessed the people: and their voice was heard, and their prayer came up to His holy dwelling-place, even unto heaven"—2 Chronicles xxx. 27—with which closed this morning's reading. Walk round the Capitol Square. Met C. F. Mercer. I was endeavoring to commence the year industriously, but at about ten A.M. Mr. Bell, a Senator from New Hampshire, called upon me, and from that time till near four P.M. there came a succession of visitors, amounting it may be to three hundred. Baron Sacken and Mr. Salomon came in the evening. Mr. Everett, Mr. Johnston, and Mr. Fendall dined with us, and Fendall spent the evening with me till near nine. Mr. Taliaferro told me that he had accounts from Orange County, Virginia, that James Barbour was elected to the State Legislature. He had already been returned, but his seat had

been contested, and he had agreed with his competitor to return the question to the people. The New Jersey members, too, are encouraged to hope that the election for members of Congress there has been decided in favor of the Clay ticket. Mr. Van Buren told me that McLane, our Minister in London, a shrewd and intelligent observer, wrote to him on the 14th of November that the Duke of Wellington and his Administration were immovable. They were turned out two days after. Baron de Sacken does not believe in the news of a declaration of war by Russia against France; says he has letters direct from St. Petersburg of 13th November, only forty-eight days since, which say not one word of war.

Van Buren and Livingston agreed in the opinion of the all-absorbing importance of the recent and impending events in Europe.

Mr. Bell's object was to enquire for the precedents of original diplomatic appointments by the President during the recess of the Senate. This question has come up again upon the Turkish treaty before the Senate. I referred him to the tenth volume of Wait's State Papers. He says that my instructions to Crane and Offley are among the documents transmitted with the treaty.

2d. I visited the boarders at J. Davis's—Judge Burnet, W. Armstrong, M. Creighton, Jr., Joseph Vance, J. F. Vinton, Lewis Williams, Clark, of Kentucky, and two or three more; also John W. Taylor. The mess were in great indignation at the news that the Cherokee Indian Tassells had been executed in Georgia for the murder of another Cherokee on the Indian Territory, notwithstanding an injunction to stay the execution, from the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, had been served upon the Governor of Georgia. Taylor read me part of a letter from Jabez D. Hammond, at Albany, respecting the next Presidential election. The Clay Masons in New York defeated the election of Granger as Governor, and the elections of Judge Spencer, of Cady, and of J. D. Dickinson, to Congress, and now are calling for the support of the Anti-Masons in favor of Clay. Hammond says they cannot obtain it. He therefore proposes to encourage the Anti-Masons to make a nomination of their own; to prevent their voting for

Jackson Electoral tickets, and with the object of dividing the Electoral votes and of bringing the election into the House of Representatives. Judge Spencer is very averse to this, and thinks that the Anti-Masons may yet be propitiated to Mr. Clay. Taylor said there were about thirty opposition members who met at Davis's every Thursday evening to consult together upon what was to be done; but the Anti-Masonic members from New York declined meeting with them.

4th. The resolutions of the Legislature of Georgia setting at defiance the Supreme Court of the United States are published and approved in the Telegraph, the Administration newspaper at this place. By extending the laws of Georgia over the country and people of the Cherokees, the Constitution, laws, and treaties of the United States were quoad hoc set aside. They were chaff before the wind. In pursuance of these laws of Georgia, a Cherokee Indian is prosecuted for the murder of another Indian before a State Court of Georgia, tried by a jury of white men, and sentenced to death. He appeals to the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, who issues an injunction to the Governor and Executive officers of Georgia, upon the appeal to the laws and treaties of the United States. The Governor of Georgia refuses obedience to this injunction, and the Legislature pass resolutions that they will not appear to answer before the Supreme Court of the United States. The Constitution, the laws and treaties of the United States are prostrate in the State of Georgia.

Is there any remedy for this state of things? None. Because the Executive of the United States is in league with the State of Georgia. He will not take care that the laws be faithfully executed. A majority of both Houses of Congress sustain him in this neglect and violation of his duty. There is no harmony in the Government of the Union. The arm refuses its office; the whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint. This example of the State of Georgia will be imitated by other States, and with regard to other national interests—perhaps the tariff—still more probably the public lands. As the Executive and Legislative now fail to sustain the Judiciary, it is not improbable that occasions may arise in which the Judiciary

will fail in turn to sustain them. The Union is in the most imminent danger of dissolution from the old inherent vice of confederacies, anarchy in the members. To this end one-third of the people is perverted, one-third slumbers, and the rest wring their hands with unavailing lamentations in the foresight of evil which they cannot avert. The ship is about to founder. A merciful Providence can save.

5th. J. W. Taylor here this evening. There was a meeting last night at his lodgings. There had been a committee of seven appointed by him, Chairman, to review the President's message—Webster, Everett, Davis, Spencer, Clark, Vinton, and another, to whom were added last evening Martindale and Cahoon, as Anti-Masons, with Taylor and one more. Indians; internal improvement; West India trade; proscription; United States Bank;—all are to be taken up, discussed in pamphlet form, twenty or thirty thousand copies to be dispersed, and measures taken for having them reprinted in newspapers. E. Everett is to move in the House a call for papers relating to the Georgia and Indian question; unless Hemphill, or some other Jackson member, can be induced to make the motion.

Taylor has not written to General P. B. Porter to dissuade him from the call of a State Convention in New York to nominate Mr. Clay. He said that last evening there was great anxiety and alarm among the Clay members from Ohio for the issue of the election to the Senate of the United States in the place of Judge Burnet. It was feared that a Jackson man named Williams would be chosen. But this day they have news of the election of Thomas Ewing, a Clay man, by a vote of fifty-four to fifty-one, and two votes for E. King. J. C. Wright was chosen a Judge of the Supreme Court of the State by the same numbers. There is much anxiety, too, for the election in Kentucky, which was fixed for yesterday. Mr. Clay wished J. J. Crittenden to be elected; but he cannot be chosen but by voting for himself. The election will fall, therefore, upon a Jackson man, or Clay himself must be elected by Crittenden's vote; even this being of so doubtful issue that Clay is unwilling to take the chance. The question whether Crittenden should vote for himself has been submitted to the

caucus here, who unanimously, with the exception of Clark, have advised against it. I very fully and explicitly communicated to Mr. Taylor my views and intentions respecting the measures of this Administration, and also with regard to the prospects of the next Presidential election, in which I propose to take no part.

6th. Mr. Storrs, a member of the House of Representatives from New York, and at the request of General P. B. Porter, left with me for perusal a letter from him to Mr. Van Buren, and a copy of the opinion of Judge Conkling upon the suit of the United States against General Porter. The Judge does not consider the Act of Congress of 1821 as inoperative, but it was limited to two years; and from the time of its expiration he adjudged that the Commissioners under the Treaty of Ghent were entitled for the remainder of their term of service to the same salary of a thousand pounds sterling a year which they had received before the Act of Congress reducing it to twenty-five hundred dollars a year. This decision covers the whole claim of the Government against General Porter, and leaves a balance of two hundred and eighty-one dollars and eighty-eight cents in his favor, which he requests Mr. Van Buren to cause to be paid to Mr. Storrs. The letter is measured in its language, though, as Storrs remarked, rather tart in its import. Storrs spoke with disgust and indignation of the correspondence with the British Government upon the Colonial Trade question; and particularly of the instructions from Van Buren to McLane. They directed him to urge as argument to the British Government to obtain concessions from them that the present Administration was friendly and their predecessors hostile to Great Britain—thus making a merit with the other party of their sacrifice of the interests of their own country to obtain beggarly favors in return. McLane's note is, accordingly, a memorable monument of this base prostitution. It is, in truth, a humble supplication to the British Government to permit the United States to surrender their rights and interests —to concede as a favor to us that which is entirely and exclusively advantageous to themselves. The arrangement which has been made is humiliating in form and injurious in sub-

stance to the United States, and the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, Herries, in presenting to Parliament a bill to increase the duties upon our importations in the West Indies, very naturally indulged a spirit of exultation upon the victory they had achieved over us. Storrs moved in the House for copies of the correspondence, which were immediately communicated; but McLane's notes were already published in a New York newspaper.

7th. Read part of Judge Conkling's opinion, the closing stanzas of the first canto of Childe Harold, Mr. Van Buren's English newspapers, and the remainder of the correspondence between Louis McLane and Lord Aberdeen, then, but no longer now, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

When we suffer the shame and mortification of defeat, there is some consolation in saying, "Thou, by some other, shalt be laid as low." Canning and Huskisson, the two British statesmen from whose bitter hatred and jealousy towards this country the last British interdict to the trade between the United States and the British West Indies in American vessels arose—where are they? Cut short in their career by the hand of death—Canning in the midst of Quixotic projects of pride and ambition for himself and his country, now crumbling into ruin; Huskisson by a melancholy accident, after having been screwed out of office as scornfully by the Duke of Wellington as he and his colleagues had treated us in Parliament and in negotiation. And where is the Duke of Wellington? Pelted with stones by the rabble of London; frightened—the vainqueur du vainqueur de la terre—frightened from attendance at the Lord Mayor's feast by the threat of popular violence upon his person; outvoted in the House of Commons, and compelled, with all his Ministry, to resign; cowering before a Whig Administration who are pledged to bring forward and carry through a reform in Parliament. The Earl of Aberdeen, after lording it over McLane—Herries, of the Exchequer, crowing like chanticleer in the House of Commons over the United States and their Government, seized by the throat and strangled as a Minister, even while the pæan of triumph is rattling from his lungs. Our interest and our honor have been cast down at the

feet of insolent adversaries; but at least their triumph over us has been short. We are now to see the consequences of this arrangement; and even they may be controlled and counteracted by the revolutions impending over Europe, and over Great Britain in particular. The reform in Parliament, the abolition of slavery, the separation of Ireland, with the convulsions on the continent of Europe, in the train of which Great Britain cannot choose but be drawn, will sink the whole of this West India trade into oblivion. It has never been of much consequence to this country but as it has been made a handle for party venom and slander. The contest of interdicts, so long as it was maintained, resulted entirely to our advantage. We shall gain nothing by our submission.

8th. Both Houses of Congress adjourned over from yesterday till Monday, and I received visits from several of the members. Two of those from New York, De Witt and Beekman, were unknown to me before. Mr. De Witt mentioned that there was an application under consideration of a committee of which he was a member, from a daughter of William Barron, First Lieutenant of the Boston frigate in 1778, killed by the bursting of a gun fired to bring to a vessel in the night, on a voyage from Boston to France. The petition stated that this lady, who has never been married, had hitherto forborne to make any application for assistance from the country, which she now finds herself under the necessity of doing; and for the facts relating to her father's death she refers to Captain Tucker, and to me, then a passenger in the frigate. Mr. De Witt said there was a certificate from Captain Tucker very honorable to Lieutenant Barron, and stating that he was killed on that passage, but not in what manner. I told him the circumstances of the case, as they dwelt upon my memory fresh after the lapse of fifty-three years. I also mentioned the universal esteem in which Lieutenant Barron was held on board the ship, and the general gloom occasioned by the disaster which caused his death.

Mr. De Witt said that my statement agreed perfectly with the certificate of Captain Tucker; that the committee had some difficulty in determining what could be done for the petitioner,

but they would propose to give her the benefit of a resolution of the Confederation Congress, and allow her the half-pay of a first lieutenant for seven years.

I told him that whatever could be done for her would be very agreeable to me, and very just. For Lieutenant Barron had lost his life, though not in battle, yet in the discharge of his duty, and in the public service; and, far remote as the time of his death was, I remembered how deeply it was lamented by all on board the ship, and how sincerely, though then but a child, I had shared in that feeling.

Mr. Taliaferro said that the second return of James Barbour to the Legislature of Virginia would again be contested; that if all the illegal votes should be thrown out, the majority in his favor would be increased, but that it was not possible to say what, under the impulse of party feelings, the decision of the House would be. He said that Newton would be a candidate for election to the next Congress, with fair prospects of success.

Mr. Chambers mentioned the election of D. Martin as Governor of Maryland, without opposition, although there was a question whether he was eligible by the Constitution. He said, too, there was a question whether there should be a Legislative nomination of Mr. Clay at this session; upon which he had received two letters from Annapolis: they asked advice, but he did not wish to have the appearance of throwing obstacles in the way. As to the election in Kentucky, Letcher had told him there were eight or nine members of the Legislature friendly to Clay, but who would not, at least on the first ballot, vote for an anti-Jackson Senator. They would vote for a Jackson man, but not for the person supported by the party; and then, after satisfying their party scruples, it was hoped, they would come over and vote for a Clay man.

9th. Heard at the Unitarian church Mr. Burnap, of Baltimore, from Psalm cxix. 71: "It is good for me that I have been afflicted;" leaving out the remainder of the verse: "that I might learn thy statutes." The part of the verse selected by Mr. Burnap generalizes that which in the whole verse is limited; and in the text itself there is another limitation, not noticed in

the discourse. The Psalmist says, "It is good for *me* that *I* have been afflicted," and adds the reason *why* affliction had been good for him—that he might learn the statutes of the Lord. It is just now forty years since I heard a Scotchman by the name of Brown, who was going to Nova Scotia, preach at Boston from the whole of this verse a sermon which made a deep impression upon my mind, and which I have retained to this day. His subject was the opportunity and inducement presented by affliction for the faithful study of the Holy Scriptures, and the peculiar fitness of the Scriptures to afford consolation in affliction. Mr. Burnap, in generalizing the sentiment of the Psalmist, discarded its appropriated character, considered the text as an unqualified commendation of affliction, and in his argument drew closely to the conclusion that human happiness consists of human misery. This is a position upon which it is more easy to be eloquent than persuasive. Mr. Burnap said that his text was one of the most consolatory sentences that ever fell from the pen of man, and that it afforded a solution to the most perplexing mystery of divine Providence —the permission of evil upon earth; and then he expatiated largely upon the uses of adversity, which, Shakspeare says, "like the toad, ugly and venomous, wears yet a precious jewel in his head." The French proverb says, "À quelque chose, malheur est bon;" and the English one, "It is an ill wind that blows nobody good." The topic is commonplace, and apt to run into the wild extravagances of the Stoics. Mr. Brown's treatment of the text was more instructive. After church I visited Mr. Bailey, at Mrs. Judson's; then Messrs. Noah Webster, Ellsworth, Richardson, and Evans, at Fletcher's; and, lastly, Judge Spencer, at Mrs. Walker's. The dinner-bell suspended my further visiting for this day, and a fall of snow confined me to the house in the evening. I read part of the second canto of Childe Harold, and began a letter to Mr. Monroe. The temptation to substitute reading for writing in the occupation of my time is irresistible. Reading is the night-gown of Sloth. Improba Siren.

10th. I answered Mr. Monroe's letter, and made some observations upon the present state of Europe. Perhaps the most

important point of view in which we should consider it is the influence which it will exercise over this country. Its first effect will be, or rather has been, to strengthen the principle of democracy over all Europe and America, and it will proportionably diminish the securities of property. In England, the reform in Parliament cannot be effected without intrenching upon very extensive rights of property. The reduction of taxes will necessarily require at least a partial spunging of the national debt. It is scarcely possible to foresee the extent to which this will stagger the rights of property and shatter the confidence of credit. The abolition of tithes must overthrow the Established Church, and dissolve the connection between Church and State, and shake the pillars of the Christian religion. That it will only shake its pillars, I hope and believe. If the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, neither will the revolutions of empires nor the convulsions of the people. In France, the alliance between political reform and religious infidelity is closer than in England. It is everywhere formidable. The fall of the Church in England will exclude the Bishops from the House of Peers, and the hereditary rights of the temporal peerage will not much longer withstand the consuming blaze of public opinion. An hereditary crown has no support in popular sentiment, and none in reason, but as forming part of one system with an hereditary peerage. All are equally obnoxious to democracy. The abolition of slavery will pass like a pestilence over all the British Colonies in the West Indies; it may prove an earthquake upon this continent. The present English Ministry are nearly as much pledged to it as to the reform in Parliament. They will flinch from it, and forfeit their pledge, but they will probably not last long; a more democratic Ministry will succeed, and reform will not, cannot, stop short till it makes an effective attempt for the abolition of slavery. This is, perhaps, the only part of the doctrine of European democracy which will find no favor here. It may aggravate the condition of the slaves in our Southern States; but the result of the Missouri question, and the attitude of parties, have silenced all the declaimers for the abolition of slavery in the Union. This state of things, however, is not to continue forever. It is

possible that the danger of the abolition doctrines, when brought home to the Southern States, may teach them the value of the Union—the only thing that can maintain their system of slavery.

However this may be, I apprehend that the inevitable predominance of democracy, which is impending over Europe, will not end without producing bitter fruits in our own country.

11th. I answered a letter some time since received from General Peter B. Porter, and read the debate in the British House of Commons upon the Civil List, part of the third canto of Childe Harold, and about fifty pages of the first volume of Jefferson's Memoirs. He states that he began his autobiography on the 6th of January, 1821, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. He says little of his lineage; tracing his paternal ancestry only to his grandfather, and to a tradition that the family came from the neighborhood of Snowdon, in Wales. His mother was a Randolph, a family claiming to be very illustrious both in England and Scotland—pretensions which he prudently declines to investigate. The account of his childhood and youth is short, and not boastful; but there are no confessions. He tells nothing but what redounds to his own credit. He is like the French lady who told her sister she did not know how it happened, "mais il n'y a que moi au monde qui a *toujours* raison." Jefferson, by his own narrative, is always in the right. This is not uncommon to writers of their own lives. Dr. Franklin was more candid. Mr. Jefferson names the teachers from whom he learnt Greek, Latin, and French, and speaks gratefully of William Small, a Scotchman, Professor of Mathematics at William and Mary College, who became attached to him, and probably fixed the destinies of his life. It is rather intimated than expressly told that Small initiated him in the mysteries of free-thinking and irreligion, which *did* fix the destinies of his life. Loose morals necessarily followed. If not an absolute atheist, he had no belief in a future existence. All his ideas of obligation or retribution were bounded by the present life. His duties to his neighbor were under no stronger guarantee than the laws of the land and the opinions of the world. The tendency of this condition upon a mind of

great compass and powerful resources is to produce insincerity and duplicity, which were his besetting sins through life. He says nothing of his adventure with Mrs. Walker, nor of the correspondence to which it gave rise; but it is extant, though it forms no part of this edition of his works. Small returned to Europe about the time that Jefferson left the college, in 1762, after introducing him as a student-at-law to George Wythe, and to the acquaintance of Governor Fauquier, the ablest man who had ever filled that office. His friendship with Wythe continued through life. In 1769 he was chosen a member of the House of Delegates, and so continued until the Revolution. He began by an effort to obtain a permission for the emancipation of slaves, which failed; and he claims the invention of Committees of Correspondence between the Colonies in 1773. With the Revolution commenced the important series of his labors in Congress and in the Legislature of Virginia. He was foremost among those who pressed forward to the separation from Great Britain, and the most active and energetic of those who, after that event, labored to adapt the legislation of the State to its new republican character. By one act, he converted all entailments into fee-simple estates; by another, he abolished the law of primogeniture; by a third, for the establishment of religious liberty, he cut off the Establishment of the Episcopal Church; and by a fourth, he partially introduced juries into the Chancery Court, though Pendleton defeated this, by an amendment making the call of a jury contingent upon the option of either party to the suit. I propose to continue these notes as I proceed in reading the book.

12th. The sky cleared off in the night, and this was a day of bright sunshine, with a northwester, and growing colder from morn to night. I took my walk before breakfast, and passed the remainder of the day without interruption at home. There is no condition of existence which affords me here, and in the winter season, so much enjoyment, with an occasional visitor now and then, for variety of conversation. My only discontent is with myself, for my own misapplication of time. I wrote this day a letter to William Hobby, at Boston, in answer to two received from him, read the remainder of the third canto

of Childe Harold, and a few pages in the first volume of Jefferson. I finished the memoir of his life, which terminates on the 21st of March, 1790, when he arrived at New York to take upon him the office of Secretary of State. There it ends; and there, as a work of much interest to the present and future ages, it should have begun. It is much to be regretted that he did not tell his own story from that time until his retirement from the office of President of the United States in 1809. It was then that all the good and all the evil parts of his character were brought into action. His ardent passion for liberty and the rights of man; his patriotism; the depth and compass of his understanding; the extent and variety of his knowledge, and the enviable faculty of applying it to his own purposes; the perpetual watchfulness of public opinion, and the pliability of principle and temper with which he accommodated to it his own designs and opinions;—all these were in ceaseless operation during those twenty years; and with them were combined a rare mixture of infidel philosophy and epicurean morals, of burning ambition and of stoical self-control, of deep duplicity and of generous sensibility, between which two qualities, and a treacherous and inventive memory, his conduct towards his rivals and opponents appears one tissue of inconsistency. His treatment of Washington, of Knox, of my father, of Hamilton, of Bayard, who made him President of the United States, and, lastly, of me, is marked with features of perfidy worthy of Tiberius Cæsar or Louis the Eleventh of France. This double-dealing character was often imputed to him during his life, and was sometimes exposed. His letter to Mazzei, and the agonizing efforts which he afterwards made to explain it away; his most insidious attack upon my father, with his never-ceasing professions of respect and affection for his person and character; and his letter to Giles concerning me, in which there is scarcely a single word of truth—indicate a memory so pandering to the will, that in deceiving others he seems to have begun by deceiving himself. The doubly posthumous attack upon James A. Bayard admits not even of that extenuation. After bargaining through Samuel Smith for the vote of Bayard in 1801, and obtaining it by the pledge which

he authorized Smith to give, he first violated his pledge, then solemnly denies that he had given it—attempts to pervert the transaction into a charge against Bayard of tampering with Smith in behalf of Burr. Five years afterwards, when Bayard and Smith had given depositions upon oath to the facts, Jefferson makes a private memorandum charging Bayard's statement with falsehood, and affirming that it is contradicted by Smith, when in fact Smith's deposition confirms that of Bayard completely. This memorandum he carefully files in his portfolio, and, eleven years after the death of Bayard, leaves it to be published by his own executor after his own death. In this discord of human nature, could a baser string be sounded?

13th. I had a visit from Mr. Fendall, and a long conversation with him upon the prospects of the country, which appear to me nearly desperate. The system of internal improvement, and the promotion of domestic industry, which from the close of the last war with Great Britain had been pursued until the present Administration came into power, will be abandoned; and, as they offer in its stead the remission of taxes, they will in all probability be supported by the people. The control of the General Government over the separate States will also be abandoned, and the powers of the Judiciary Department prostrated. The people will also sustain this. The entire discharge of the national debt will dissolve one of the strongest ties which hold the Union together; and the doom of the National Bank at the expiration of its charter is already sealed. Of the two systems, that of the present Administration sacrifices the future and remote benefit to the present, and therefore addresses itself more to the feelings and prejudices of the people. A war in Europe, which can scarcely fail to happen within the next two years, must necessarily change the aspect of parties and the objects of political contention in this country. But whether its effects will be to re-cement the Union or to consummate its dissolution is beyond the reach of my foresight. It will perhaps create a new national debt, and its tendency may be to serve the bank and the Judiciary; but it will add new virulence to the rancor of party spirit, and put keener instruments into the hands of needy, unprincipled, and desperate

ambition. There is a Providence which brings good out of evil, and in which all my hopes of the future are concentrated.

Mr. Fendall told me that the misunderstanding between Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Van Buren was amicably settled. There has been a very prevalent rumor that a challenge passed between them. I wrote a letter to Jeremy Robinson, in answer to one received from him at Quincy, and read twenty stanzas of the fourth canto of Childe Harold, and a few pages of the first volume of Jefferson. There are in the memoir of his life some very meagre minutes of the debates in Congress upon the Declaration of Independence, and upon the Confederation—the last, on the single question whether the votes in Congress under that compact should be individual or by States. In his account of the passage of the Declaration of Independence there is one of those errors of memory which, though of little importance in itself, casts a shade of distrust upon his whole narrative. He says that after the Declaration was brought in and adopted, on the 4th of July, it was signed by every member present, and that the copy engrossed upon parchment, afterwards brought in and signed by all the members present on the 2d of August, and by others afterwards, was a *second* signature by all the members. Now, the original Declaration, unanimously adopted by the States on the 4th of July, was not a manuscript, but a printed paper. It was not signed by all the members, but, like all the other Acts and Ordinances of Congress at that time, by John Hancock, President, and Charles Thomson, Secretary. It is yet extant in the archives of the Department of State, where I have often seen it. The exception that he makes, of John Dickinson as the only member who did not sign it on the 4th of July, shows that as his memory ceased to be tenacious it became inventive.

14th. I received a letter from John C. Calhoun, now Vice-President of the United States, relating to his present controversy with President Jackson and William H. Crawford. He questions me concerning the letter of General Jackson to Mr. Monroe which Crawford alleges to have been produced at the Cabinet meetings on the Seminole War, and asks for copies, if I think proper to give them, of Crawford's letter to me which

I received last summer, and of my answer. I answered Mr. Calhoun's letter immediately, rigorously confining myself to the direct object of his enquiries. This is a new bursting out of the old and rancorous feud between Crawford and Calhoun, both parties to which, after suspending their animosities and combining together to effect my ruin, are appealing to me for testimony to sustain themselves each against the other. This is one of the occasions upon which I shall eminently need the direction of a higher power to guide me in every step of my conduct. I see my duty to discard all consideration of their treatment of me; to adhere, in everything that I shall say or write, to the truth; to assert nothing positively of which I am not absolutely certain; to deny nothing upon which there remains a scruple of doubt upon my memory; to conceal nothing which it may be lawful to divulge, and which may promote truth and justice between the parties. With these principles, I see further the necessity for caution and prudence in the course I shall take. The bitter enmity of all three of the parties—Jackson, Calhoun, and Crawford—against me, an enmity the more virulent because kindled by their own ingratitude and injustice to me; the interest which every one of them, and all their partisans, have in keeping up that load of obloquy and public odium which their foul calumnies have brought down upon me; and the disfavor in which I stand before a majority of the people, excited against me by their artifices;—their demerits to me are proportioned to the obligations to me—Jackson's the greatest, Crawford's the next, Calhoun's the least of positive obligation, but darkened by his double-faced setting himself up as a candidate for the Presidency against me in 1821, his prevarications between Jackson and me in 1824, and his icy-hearted dereliction of all the decencies of social intercourse with me, solely from the terror of Jackson, since the 4th of March, 1829. I walk between burning ploughshares; let me be mindful where I place my foot.

I called, after answering Calhoun, upon Mr. Wirt, at his lodgings, where he is confined by lameness, from a hurt taken while going in the night to Baltimore, about a fortnight since. He was called there by the extreme illness of his youngest and

favorite daughter, Agnes, whom he could not save. She died of the scarlet fever. He returned here as soon after performing the last melancholy duties to his child as possible. Here he is the leading counsel of Judge Peck, District Judge of Missouri, under impeachment before the Senate, and whom, with another young man from Missouri, named Grimm, I found with him. I had a conversation of nearly two hours with Mr. Wirt—chiefly upon public affairs and the prospects of the country, upon which his anticipations are as gloomy and more desponding than my own. He sees, as I do, all the dangers impending over the Union, but has not the same hope that I indulge of the preservation of the Constitution by the effect of new interests and passions and parties, to spring from the revolutions in Europe and their influence upon our affairs. I cling to the last straw of hope, and, when I see not even that within my grasp, rely upon that overruling Providence which has so often served us before. I spoke also to Mr. Wirt of the letter I had received from Calhoun, and of my answer. He told me much of what has already passed between the parties, and of which I had not heard before. Calhoun applied to him and to Mr. Monroe last spring. Crawford had written before, the letter to Forsyth which had been put into the hands of Jackson, and upon which explanations had been called for from Calhoun. Mr. Monroe and Mr. Wirt gave certificates to Calhoun, which for the time satisfied Jackson, but to which, when communicated to Crawford, by a letter addressed to Calhoun in nine sheets of paper, he replied in a tone of insult and acrimony for which Wirt said he could account in no other manner than by supposing them the result of a deranged intellect. But in this letter from Crawford to Calhoun, Wirt says, there are extracts from my answer to Crawford's letter last summer, and also (which surprised me exceedingly) a letter or certificate from Crowninshield, confirming Crawford's statement about this Johnny Rhea letter and its effect. I told Wirt that Crowninshield had not been present at any one of those Cabinet meetings, but was, during the whole time when they were held, in Massachusetts. I reminded Wirt also that *he* was the author of the article in the National Intelligencer of 27th July, 1818, and reminded

him of the repeated and earnest discussions between him and me, urging alterations in it. This had escaped his memory; but he recollected it when mentioned by me. He also spoke to me of my election to the next Congress, and of my consent to be selected, which he approved as correct in republican principle, but he had no doubt that I should be personally ill treated and insulted in the House. I asked him if he thought I could assign the fear of this as a reason for declining to serve. He said, certainly not. I asked him, if it was a reason which I could not give, whether it was a motive that I ought to feel. This he did not answer.

15th. On a further examination of my diary of 1818, I thought it advisable to have extracts from it made of all those parts of it relating to the Seminole War and the Cabinet meetings concerning it. As the copy must be made by an entirely confidential hand, my wife undertook the task. She has often assisted me in the same manner before.

Read twenty stanzas of the fourth canto of Childe Harold, and a few pages of Jefferson. He states in the memoir that the Boston port bill, closing that port on the 1st of June, 1774, was received while the Legislature of Virginia were in session; that he, with Patrick Henry, R. H. and F. L. Lee, and a few others, younger members of the Assembly, had a private meeting, at which they *cooked up* a resolution for appointing the 1st of June as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer—a very unusual thing in Virginia, there having been no example of it for twenty years before. This they got Mr. Nicholas to move, because his grave and religious character was more in unison with the tone of their resolution. It passed without opposition; and the effect of the day through the whole Colony was like a shock of electricity. Here is a convocation of the whole people of a Colony, a solemn religious assembly, an appeal to Almighty God, and imploring of His aid for relief from deep distress and impending calamity, *cooked up* for mere political effect by a man who believes not a word of the resolution, which he borrows from Rushworth and the Puritans, and who, ashamed, for its glaring inconsistency with his known opinions, to offer it himself, prevails upon a grave and religious man to offer it, and

thereby to secure for it the credit of *sincerity*. Mr. Jefferson was no friend to the connection between Church and State; but what is this? There is a tone of irreligious levity in the narrative, contrasted with the character of the measure itself, and with the effect which it had upon the people, which marks the twofold characteristic of the disbeliever in a future state and of the double-dealer in the present. Upon the passage of this resolution the Governor dissolved the Assembly; upon which the same caucus which had cooked up the pious resolution for a fast-day agreed to an association, instructed the Committee of Correspondence to propose a Continental Congress to be held annually, and recommended a Provincial Convention to be held at Williamsburg, part of whose functions should be to appoint delegates to the General Congress. Of this Convention Jefferson himself was elected a member, and prepared a draft of instructions for the delegates to be chosen to the Congress. He was taken sick on the road, and prevented from attending the Convention, but sent on two copies of his draft —one to Patrick Henry and the other to Peyton Randolph. Henry did not produce his copy, but Peyton Randolph laid his on the table for perusal and announced it to the Convention. The paper was read generally by the members, approved by many, though thought too bold for the present state of things, and printed in pamphlet form, under the title of A Summary View of the Rights of British America. The subsequent adventures of the pamphlet in England are curious, and it is itself curious. It is in the form of an address to the King, far more insulting in its language than the famous letter of "Junius." It asserts that the British Parliament never had any right to legislate for the British Colonies in any case whatever; that the King had no right to grant lands in America, the rightful tenures of all the lands in the Colonies being allodial; that the King had no right to dissolve the Colonial Legislatures, and that since the Revolution of 1688 no King of England had ever exercised the right of dissolving Parliament. The most ludicrous part of this last assertion is a note by the author in his seventy-seventh year, that on further enquiry he has found two instances of dissolutions of Parliament before its natural death—

both by William the Third. He would have been puzzled to find since the Revolution of 1688, or at least since the Septennial Act, a single instance of a Parliament suffered to run out its whole term. That Patrick Henry should have forborne to produce his copy of such a paper may be accounted for by better reasons than his laziness. That such a paper, though thought too bold, should pass for a "summary of the *rights* of British America," shows the cormorant swallow of heated party times. The argument of Mr. Jefferson, that the emigration of the first colonists from Great Britain which came to America was an expatriation, dissolving their allegiance, and constituting them independent sovereignties, was doubtful in theory and unfounded in fact. The original colonists came out with charters from the King, with the rights and duties of British subjects. They were entitled to the protection of the British King, and owed him allegiance. They had submitted to commercial legislation by Parliament as a part of the royal authority exercised over them by the King, but never to taxation by a legislature in which they were not represented. They submitted to Acts of Parliament as ordinances of the King not incompatible with their charters. But when Parliament undertook to tax them for the benefit of the people of England, this was a violation of their rights, both by charter and by the common law, and it was resisted. The instructions adopted by the Convention were in a far more moderate and rational, and therefore more firm and determined, spirit.

16th. Read a few passages of Jefferson, and finished the notes appended to his memoir. There was something so strange to me in the assertion contained in his projected instructions to the Virginia delegates in the First Congress, that the Kings of England since the Revolution of 1688 had never exercised the prerogative of dissolving Parliament, that I spent three hours at least of this day in looking to the law and the testimony upon this historical statement. As to the law—Blackstone, i. p. 188, is as explicit as language can express that the dissolution of Parliament at his pleasure is a prerogative of the King; and Hume, in his account of the conviction and execution of Tresilian, speaks of it as an infamous transaction throughout; and

particularly alluding to the charge that Tresilian had advised the King that he might dissolve Parliament at his pleasure, says that the opinion was justified even upon the restricted doctrines of prerogative in his own times. As to the fact, I found in Smollett and Scott that from the accession of the House of Hanover till the year 1774 not one single Parliament had been suffered to live out its seven years; all had been dissolved by the royal prerogative—usually within a few months before the expiration of their term; but the Parliament which met in December, 1741, was dissolved by George II. in June, 1747 (Smollett, iii. p. 389). The very Parliament which existed when Mr. Jefferson penned this address to the King, instructing him upon the exercise of his rights, was dissolved on the 30th of December, 1774, by royal proclamation; and Mr. Jefferson's address, had it been adopted by Congress, must have been presented to the King at the happiest of moments to make the ignorance, historical and constitutional, of the addressers the scorn and fable of the whole nation. The gravity of the note on the present republication of this paper, admitting the dissolution of two Parliaments by King William—as if he had found no other instances since—is diverting.

Mr. Jefferson was not a member of the First Congress. In March, 1775, he was elected to the Second, as a substitute for Peyton Randolph in the event of his being called away, as he was. Mr. Jefferson took his seat on the 21st of June, 1775. There is an account of the second petition of Congress to the King, drawn principally by John Dickinson, much to Jefferson's dissatisfaction, and not less so to that of my father, as I have often heard him say: during the War of the Revolution he could never speak of it without indignation. Dickinson's Revolutionary standard was as far below my father's temperate mark as Jefferson's was above it. Mr. Jefferson was also the reporter of the answer to Lord North's conciliatory proposition. He adopted principally the answer already given by the Virginia Assembly. From this he passes to the notes upon the Declaration of Independence.

17th. I met in my walk an Indian chief, who recognized me, and with a look of old acquaintance offered me his hand, which

I took, and shook heartily. We could not speak to each other, and I did not distinctly remember his person; but I believe it was one of the Cherokees who were here with Ross and Ridge during Mr. Monroe's Administration. I met also Mr. Hutchinson, our Consul at Lisbon, whom I did not recognize until he told me his name; nor did I immediately recollect that he had called upon me last summer at Quincy. In philosophizing upon the decay of my own memory, I remark that my recollection of persons whom I have but casually seen, and of their names, is most imperfect. This I attribute to the great multitudes of persons whom I have seen and who have been introduced to me, but with whom I have had no relation of intimate acquaintance. There is always something mortifying to the pride of a man who remembers another not to be recognized by him; but there are bounds to the retention of the human memory, and the nomenclator of the ancient Romans was a useful officer.

There is in the memoir of Mr. Jefferson's life a copy of the Declaration of Independence as finally adopted by Congress, with marginal notes, italics in brackets, and of the final declaratory paragraph a concurrent column, showing the paper as reported by the committee. These he gives because, he says, the sentiments of men are known not only by what they receive but by what they reject. There is also at the close of the fourth volume a fac-simile of his original draft, with the alterations proposed by my father and Dr. Franklin. There were in the paper reported by the committee a good many erasures, and considerable alterations from the draft. They appear to me to have been all improvements upon it. The draft was declaratory, argumentative, and overloaded with crudities. A great deal too much of these was left in the report of the committee; too much even in the final Declaration, which is, nevertheless, one of the best-composed State papers that I ever saw. The Declaration was a novelty in the annals of the world. It was founded upon the principles of natural right. It was an apology to the world for the revolt of thirteen Colonies, united into one Confederacy, separating themselves from the nation of which they had formed a part,

and announcing themselves as a new nation to the world. The reason assigned for this Declaration is respect for the opinions of mankind; the cause alleged is the tyranny of the King, supported by the people of Great Britain. The acts of tyranny are specified; the fact of previous petitions disregarded is alleged; the concurrence of the British people with the King affirmed; and the necessity for the separation is conclusively deduced from these facts. There was struck out by Congress from the report of the committee—1. A frantic paragraph against the slave-trade and negro slavery. 2. A paragraph affirming that the colonists in constituting their forms of government had adopted one common King with Great Britain, but that submission to their Parliament was no part of the Colonial Constitution, nor ever in idea. 3. A paragraph quite declamatory against the British people, for re-electing members of Parliament opposed to the Colonial cause, and for permitting their Chief Magistrate to send over not only soldiers of our common blood, but Scotch and foreign mercenaries, to invade and destroy us. 4. About half the final declaratory paragraph.

These two last alterations appear by the fac-simile to have been proposed by Dr. Franklin in the committee, and are there enclosed in brackets, with a marginal entry of the words, "a different phraseology inserted." The solemn and sublime appeal to Heaven at the beginning and close of the declaratory paragraph was added in Congress, and not "cooked up" by the committee. The parts struck out by Congress sound to my ear like effusions of frenzy—the paragraph against slavery indiscreet beyond measure, and not a little unjust. Mr. Jefferson says that in the ground which he took, that the British Parliament never had any authority over the Colonies, any more than the Danes and Saxons of his own age had over the people of England, he never could get any one to agree with him but Mr. Wythe. It was too absurd. In truth, the question of right as between Parliament and the Colonies was one of those upon which it is much easier to say who was wrong than who was right. The pretension that they had the right to bind the Colonies in all cases whatever, and that which denied them the right to bind in any case whatever, were

the two extremes, equally unfounded; and yet it is extremely difficult to draw the line where the authority of Parliament commenced and where it closed. Lord Chatham's line was taxation; Burke's was usage, precedent, and wise discretion; my father's is in the resolutions of the First Congress. There is a very remarkable passage in pages 39 and 40 of the memoir, showing that although Jefferson was not inclined in his last days to avow his perseverance in his opinions upon negro slavery, he was willing to let them loose after his death—the motive for which appears to be to secure to himself posthumous fame as a prophet.

18th. I received a letter from R. Walsh re-urging me to write upon the late Colonial Trade arrangement with Great Britain; and a note from W. B. Hodgson, with some proof-sheets of the next volume of the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, containing his speculations upon the Berber language. I answered a letter received last August from R. H. Lee, and had time left to read only a few pages of the correspondence of Jefferson. His continuance in Congress after the adoption of the Declaration of Independence was short. In October, 1776, he was elected by his county a member of the Legislature of Virginia, where he took his seat, after resigning that in Congress. From that time till June, 1779, he continued a member of the Legislature, and was then elected the Governor of the Commonwealth. In the interval he was occupied with the revisal of the legislation of the State. Even before the Declaration of Independence the organization of the State Government had been altered by the Legislature itself from the royal charter Government to what they called a constitution, but which was never submitted to the people. By this anomaly the State of Virginia has been governed to this day. They have now, however, a more formal constitution, prepared by a convention about a year since, and adopted by the people, but not yet in operation. In the revision of the old system of laws, Mr. Jefferson took an active and leading part. He presented bills for the establishment of courts of justice; for converting tenancies in tail into fee-simple; for prohibiting the importation of negro slaves; for

abolishing the Establishment of the Episcopal Church; and for asserting the natural right of expatriation, and prescribing the mode of exercising it. He also proposed and carried through a bill for a general revision of the whole code of laws by which the Colony had been governed, and he was appointed with four others to execute the work. One of the committee soon resigned, and one died. The three others divided the work between them: Jefferson had the common law and statutes till 4 James I., when the Virginia Legislature was first established; Wythe, the British statutes from that time to *the present day* (1776); and Pendleton, the Virginia laws. Now, if Mr. Jefferson's pretension that the British Parliament had *never* possessed the right of enacting laws for Virginia had been well founded, what would Mr. Wythe have had to do? Every British statute affecting Virginia, from 1607 to 1776, was a flagrant usurpation, which by the Declaration of Independence alone would have been swept away. This thought, however, never occurred to the committee. The first question they settled was, not to abolish the whole existing system of laws and prepare a new and complete institute, but to preserve the general system, and only modify it to the present order of things. Pendleton was for the former, and Lee; Jefferson, with Mason and Wythe, for the latter. Mr. Jefferson and Pendleton on this occasion both changed sides—Pendleton assuming the character of the bold innovator, and Jefferson that of the special pleader and defender of ancient things. He gives the reasons of his own opinion, but not those of Mr. Pendleton. But there were far other reasons than those assigned by Mr. Jefferson for not reconstructing the edifice of legislation in Virginia de novo, which he felt and understood, though he has had the prudence not to disclose them. 1. Mr. Jefferson was not a legislator—his genius was *de*structive, but not *con*structive: he could demolish, deface, and cast down; he could not build up or preserve. 2. The principle of setting aside the whole code of their legislation would of itself have emancipated all their slaves. In renovating their code, they must have restored slavery after having abolished it; they must have assumed to themselves all the odium of establishing

it as a positive institution, directly in the face of all the principles they had proclaimed; they must have abandoned their laws privileging lands from responsibility for debts; and they must have enlarged their elective franchise, confined as it was almost exclusively to freeholders. For all this Mr. Jefferson was not prepared. It was easier to abolish the law of primogeniture, the Establishment of the Episcopal Church, capital punishment, except for treason and murder, and the professorships of divinity and the Oriental languages in William and Mary College. All this was accordingly done. But the lands of the planters retained their exemption from liability for the debts of their owners; the freeholders retained their exclusive right of voting at elections; and the bill on the subject of slaves was a mere digest of the existing laws respecting them, without any intimation of a plan for a future and general emancipation. This was, however, agreed upon by the committee to be proposed, by way of amendment, in the passage of the bill; but it was found that the public mind would not bear the proposition. The amendment was never offered, and Mr. Jefferson contents himself with a posthumous prophecy that it must soon come, or that worse will follow.

With regard to the criminal law, the committee substituted for some capital punishments the lex talionis, which, on further reflection, Mr. Jefferson justly disapproves; and he attempted to introduce juries into the Chancery Court, which Pendleton defeated by an amendment making it optional with either of the parties. The committee after near three years had accomplished their labor of revision of all the laws, in one hundred and twenty-six bills, making a printed folio of ninety pages only. These bills were brought forward piecemeal in the Legislature until 1785, when most of them, by the exertions of Mr. Madison, were adopted.

19th. My progress with Mr. Jefferson's writings is slow. He was elected Governor of Virginia in June, 1779, and continued in that office two years, at the end of which he resigned it. The period was extremely critical; and this resignation was afterwards made by Mr. Jefferson's enemies a frequent subject of reproach against him. He appears disinclined to give any

detail of the events of that time in the present memoir, but refers for them to Girardin's History of Virginia, of which, he says, the materials for that period were furnished by him. The State was invaded by the army of Lord Cornwallis, and he says he resigned from a belief that the public would have more confidence in a military chief, and that the military commander being invested with the civil power also, both might be wielded with more energy, promptitude, and effect for the defence of the State. General Nelson was appointed his successor, and participated in the glory of the capture of Cornwallis. Perhaps Mr. Jefferson's resignation was an expedient to save him the mortification of a failure to be re-elected. The English Colonel Tarleton says, in his History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781, that Cornwallis, being informed of a meeting of the Governor and Assembly of Virginia at Charlottesville, sent him with a detachment to break them up, which he effected. He took seven members of the Assembly. "The attempt to secure Jefferson," he says, "was ineffectual; he discovered the British dragoons from his house, which stands on the point of a mountain, before they could approach him, and he provided for his personal safety by a precipitate retreat." This is a mean and spiteful manner of relating the incident, but the fact could not but affect the popularity of Mr. Jefferson at the time; and Carter's Mountain, to which he retired, was the theme of many a jibe and jeer upon him to the last period of his life. Frederick the Second made a precipitate retreat from the battle of Mollwitz, which, after he was gone, his General, Schwerin, won for him. He neither conceals nor slurs over this incident in his memoirs of his own times, but says it taught him a lesson for all his after-life—never to despair. Mr. Jefferson may have learnt the same lesson; but it is evident he reflected with no satisfaction upon that portion of his life when he was Governor of Virginia.

20th. Visitors engrossed the morning. Elliott Cresson is here as a delegate from the Pennsylvania Colonization Society. The general Society have last evening had their annual meeting, which I received from the managers a written invitation to attend. Cresson, who is of the Society of Friends, is a member

and ardent supporter of the Colonization Society—which I never have been, believing their principal objects impracticable, and entertaining great doubts of the usefulness of their measures which have been successful. I therefore did not attend their meeting, and had in like manner abstained from attending that of the last year. I told Cresson candidly what had been and were my impressions on the subject. I said that I did not believe it would diminish the number of slaves in the United States by a single individual; and that so far as it did effect the emigration of people of color, it was rather a public injury than a public benefit. This Society, however, is yearly increasing in numbers and power; and my opinions found no sympathy in those of Mr. Cresson. He gave me a handsome porcelain inkstand, from the manufactory at Philadelphia.

General Taylor, of Kentucky, introduced to me Mr. Bellamy Storer, of Cincinnati, Ohio, who is here as counsel in certain cases before the Supreme Court of the United States. Mr. Storer has heretofore written me sundry letters upon politics and electioneering.

Mr. Hodgson took back the proof-sheets of his letters upon the Berber language, and spoke of the Turkish treaty still before the Senate, which will probably be rejected, not only on account of the secret article, but because the negotiators were appointed during the recess of Congress and were not nominated to the Senate at their next session. Tazewell, the leading member of the Administration in the Senate, and the business of whose life it is to split hairs, maintains that in time of peace the President has by the Constitution no power to constitute a new mission in the recess of the Senate, though he has such a power as Commander-in-Chief in time of war. In this case I constituted the mission during the recess. But no dispatch was received by the Commissioners until after I was out of office; and they had not concluded the negotiation. Jackson issued another commission during the recess, and they concluded a treaty, which he sends to the Senate, without sending at the same time a nomination of the Commissioners, as he ought to have done. Tazewell bristles up his virtue and swaggers about his independence; says they have no right to expect

that his stomach will bear now what it rejected four years ago. The present servility of the other Jackson Senators would now unite with the honesty of the rest and overrule Tazewell's scruples, if Jackson would now nominate the Commissioners, and if the secret article were admissible; but that is said to be contrary to my instructions, and incompatible with neutrality. This secret article has already been a subject of keen debate and of angry collisions in the House of Representatives.

Mr. Vinton came to introduce Judge Wash, of Missouri, who is here in attendance upon the Senate as a witness upon the trial of Judge Peck.

Mr. Root is a member elect of the next Congress, from the interior of New York. He has been many years one of the most violent politicians of that State; constantly in public life; a member of the House of Representatives when I was in the Senate; often member of each House of the New York Legislature, Speaker of the House of Assembly, Lieutenant Governor; prominent as a member of the Convention which altered the Constitution of New York; and now coming in again as a member of the next Congress. His election and mine having taken place about the same time, the Telegraph newspaper here named Root as one of the persons who would be well qualified to insult me personally if I should take my seat in the House. He alluded to this soon after he came in this morning, disclaimed every such intention, and said he was not disposed to adapt his course of conduct to the advice of any newspaper. He sat with me about half an hour, and conversed freely upon the State politics of New York. He told me there was much division in the New York Legislature, and it was doubtful whether Sanford, now one of the Senators from that State, would be re-elected. I asked him who would probably come in his place. He said perhaps Mr. Suydam, General Nelson, or himself. I said, smiling, that I thought he would be the man, and in that event we could not have the sparring with which I had been threatened. I had never heard of General Nelson, but I had often of Mr. Suydam. Was not he one of the high-minded? He laughed heartily, and said, yes; he was one of the high-minded. General Nelson was a young

man of considerable talents. Mr. Root was last summer a Commissioner to negotiate with the Green Bay Indians, and is here to close his accounts in that business. He lodges at Mr. Hobby's, the Assistant Postmaster-General, who married his daughter.

21st. A person near Brown's Tavern accosted and walked on with me a few minutes; said his name was Hall, a native of Virginia, and now an inhabitant of Kentucky. His motive for introducing himself to me was curiosity, because I had been "our President." Leslie Combs, whom I had seen at New York, called, and told me he was going this evening or to-morrow on his return to Kentucky. He spoke of some public controversy with General Jackson, which I had forgotten; and he told me two anecdotes, which, whether verities or inventions, are characteristic.

One, that Jackson, upon his last summer's tour to Tennessee, was earnestly urged by a clergyman to stand a candidate for re-election, upon which he said, "Well, if my fellow-citizens insist upon my serving them another term, I hope they will give me a Vice-President in whom I can have some confidence." The other, that Calhoun, within a very few days, has said that if Jackson had followed *his* advice the Administration would have been approved by the people; but, as it was, it had lost all its popularity.

Evening visit from Mr. Webster and J. W. Taylor. The Senate are yet engaged upon the trial of Judge Peck. Mr. Meredith, of Baltimore, his junior counsel, has made an argument of three days, which is not yet finished, and will occupy one day more. Webster said he had this day voted against adjourning, and afterwards told Meredith that he could make a better argument in three days than in four. They suppose there is a disposition in the President to dismiss Ingham, the Secretary of the Treasury, and that Louis McLane, now Minister in England, is to have his place. McLane's poverty cannot abide the charges of a residence in London, and Webster says his father, who died lately, left all the rest of his estate to his other children, and a lawsuit against the United States to Louis, in which he might recover about forty thousand dollars.

He said that he and John Sergeant and Mr. Wirt had been spoken to as counsel for Mr. McLane in this cause; but he did not appear to consider himself engaged in it.

22d. Mr. Coale, of Baltimore, was here, to visit his son, whom he has established here with a circulating library and stationer's shop. He told me that he had visited Dr. Watkins again in prison yesterday. Watkins was an over-active partisan against Jackson at the last Presidential election; but he was Fourth Auditor of the Treasury, and, being a man of expensive habits and a large family, had misapplied several thousand dollars of public money to his own use. This was detected soon after General Jackson came into office, and he seized the occasion, under an outward flourish of righteous indignation, to glut his personal revenge upon Watkins. There had been numerous defalcations of the same, and some of a much darker character, before. There have already been many such under Jackson's own Administration. He caused Watkins to be prosecuted under every form that legal chicanery could devise, and at last, after two or three months of pertinacity and browbeating, finally obtained juries to convict and a Court to sentence Watkins for an offence at common law—in the face of many decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States that in their Courts there is no common law. Watkins was sentenced to a year of imprisonment, and fines amounting to two or three thousand dollars. The term of imprisonment expired several months since; but it is continued because Jackson refuses to remit the fines. But his rancor is insatiate. At one time he ordered the Marshal to confine Watkins in a solitary cell; but the officer pleading that he had no authority to do this, he ordered him to have the door of the apartment in which he was kept labelled "Criminal's Apartment," which it accordingly has been. That an officer under my Administration, and appointed partly at my recommendation, should have embezzled any part of the public moneys is a deeper affliction to me than almost anything else that happened; that he was personally and warmly my friend aggravates the calamity; that the punishment of his offence should be protracted by the vindictive hatred of a political adversary is distressing; yet the

wrong done to me and my Administration by the misconduct of Watkins deserves a severer animadversion from me than from Jackson.

23d. I met Judge Story at meeting, and went with him to the lodgings of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States. I saw the Chief Justice, Marshall, and the Judges Duval and Thompson; the others, Johnson, McLean, and Baldwin, were not within. I asked Chief-Justice Marshall if he could inform me where I could procure Burk's and Girardin's History of Virginia. He said, perhaps at Richmond, but he did not know. Judge Story made some severe remarks upon the fourth volume of Jefferson's writings, which I thought not more extraordinary than the first. He instanced especially the letter to Major Cartwright, vol. iv. p. 395, in which he treats the decision by English Judges, that Christianity is a part of the common law of England, as a judicial forgery. He gives a history of this doctrine from its introduction, as he says, by Finch in 1613, from a mistranslation of a dictum of Prisot, Chief Justice, in a year-book of 1458. Thence he deduces it through Wingate, Shepherd, Hale, Strange, Wood, Blackstone, and Mansfield, whom he pronounces to be all rogues.

My own opinion has been, ever since I first read the letter, that it was Mr. Jefferson himself, and not the succession of English lawyers for three hundred years, who had mistaken the meaning of this dictum of Prisot.

Judge Story said that he had looked into the case in the year-book, and found the exposition of it by Mr. Jefferson so manifestly erroneous that he cannot even consider it an involuntary mistake.

I had some conversation with Mr. Vaughan, whose health is yet indifferent. Speaking of the new British Ministry, and mentioning Lord Althorp, the son of Earl Spencer, he mentioned this nobleman's magnificent library and his passion for rare books. He said he was himself a member of the "Literary Club" of which Dr. Johnson had been one of the original founders; that Lord Spencer was also a member; and that at one of their dinners he had been diverted and astonished at a toast which came most unexpectedly to his ears, "The lucky

possessor of the Mazarin Bible." He did not know what the book was, but Lord Spencer had thought himself extremely fortunate in obtaining it for five hundred guineas. Mr. Vaughan inclines to the opinion that they will get over this year in Europe without a war.

24th. I had written yesterday a letter to R. Rush upon certain articles which have been republished here from the York Republican newspaper, written by him on the recent revolutions in Europe, and particularly on the last change in the British Ministry. The articles are exceedingly well written, and contain much valuable information and much judicious comment upon the great events which are occurring in Europe. But, in speaking of characters, Rush and other Americans, under an impulse of liberality, are apt to indulge a strain of panegyric very undeserved by its objects, and tending to spread erroneous opinions both of men and things in this country. He has so done in a very remarkable article relating to the present King of England, and I have written to him for two reasons: first, to call upon him for a revision of his encomiastic admiration of William IV.; and, secondly, to rectify my own opinions by his reply—which may be very necessary for the composition of a summary of English history during the year 1830.

I read English newspapers, a few stanzas of Childe Harold, and a few pages of Jefferson's Correspondence, though I have not yet done with the memoir of his life. His voluntary retirement from the office of Governor of Virginia, cotemporaneous with his precipitate retreat from Tarleton's surprise of Charlottesville, at the very crisis of Cornwallis's invasion, though it greatly affected his reputation for efficiency, and brought imputations even upon his personal courage, does not appear to have impaired for any length of time his popularity. He was four times appointed by Congress to missions abroad: first, on the 30th of September, 1776, with Dr. Franklin and Silas Deane; next, on the 15th of June, 1781, with my father, Dr. Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens; thirdly, on the 13th of November, 1782, which appointment he accepted, having on the two previous occasions declined. He was now waiting, in

February, 1783, at Baltimore, for a passage in a French frigate to France, when news was received of the conclusion of the preliminary articles of peace of 30th November, 1782 (the book erroneously gives the 3d of September, 1782, as the date), upon which he was excused by Congress from further proceeding, and returned home. His fourth appointment was on the 7th of May, 1784, with my father and Dr. Franklin, to negotiate treaties of commerce; and upon this mission he arrived at Paris on the 6th of August of that year. Here it was that my first acquaintance with him commenced. In the mean time he had, on the 6th of June, 1783, been again elected a delegate in Congress from the State of Virginia. In November, Congress, which had been sitting at Trenton, adjourned to Annapolis, where, on the 13th of December, only seven States, without which not the most unimportant business could be transacted, assembled. They were another month before nine States were represented, and spent it in the "morbid rage of debate" whether seven States were or were not competent to the ratification of the definitive treaty of peace with Great Britain which set the final seal to the independence of the country. At length, on the 14th of January, 1784, delegates came in, adding two States more to the representation, and the treaty was unanimously ratified. Upon this session there are some judicious and some senile observations in the memoir upon the propensity of mankind to differ in opinion and to debate; a story of Dr. Franklin upon the quarrel of the two keepers of the Eddystone Light; and a back-handed stroke upon the long speeches and endless debates in the present Congress, which, countenancing a vulgar prejudice, he imputes to the people's sending a hundred and fifty lawyers to represent them. He manifests an utter aversion to long speeches, and says Washington and Franklin never spoke more than ten minutes at a time. He says, too, it ought not to be expected that a hundred and fifty lawyers should ever do business together. Mr. Jefferson was himself a lawyer, but an indifferent speaker. It was at this time that he wrote some observations upon a standard unit for coins, and the establishment of a decimal arithmetic for moneys of account. They are reprinted in the appendix to

the memoir. Nothing is said of the ordinance for the Northwestern Territory.

25th. Read a few stanzas of Childe Harold, and further in the correspondence of Jefferson, till the letter of 28th May, 1781, to General Washington, announcing his long-declared resolution of retiring from the oppression of his office as Governor of Virginia to private life. He says he shall relinquish it to abler hands; and from that time there is a gap in the correspondence of nearly three years, the next letter being again to General Washington, and dated at Annapolis, 16th April, 1784. A note of the editor says that during the interval he preserved only memoranda of the contents of the letters written by him. It is very evident that this period of his life brought to him no pleasing recollections. He withdrew from his office at the very agonizing moment of his country's struggle. He thought a military Governor would be at that time more useful to the State. Why was he not himself a military Governor? He was ex-officio commander-in-chief of the armies of the State. What was Joseph Warren? What was Nathanael Greene? What was Benjamin Lincoln? What was Henry Knox? It is the necessary nature of civil wars to make military men out of lawyers and farmers, physicians and booksellers, ay, and out of ministers of the Word of God. The condition of Virginia at the moment when he abandoned the helm of state was such as should have created soldiers under the ribs of death. His correspondence for a year before is languid and desponding. He complains of the discovery of extensive disaffection, speaks with terror of the enemy's successes, and broadly intimates that the minds of the people may be led to acquiescence under those events which they see no human power prepared to ward off. And this is the moment which Mr. Jefferson selects to retire from the responsible office of Governor of the State. And within four months from that day Cornwallis surrenders his arms and his army at Yorktown. Not a line of congratulation upon this great and sudden turn of the tide of success is found in his correspondence; not a word about it in the memoir of his life. This silence is expressive. Where was he from June, 1781, to the close of the

war? No mortal can tell from the memoir or the correspondence. In that very June, 1781, at the moment when he resigned his office as Governor of Virginia, he was appointed one of the Ministers for negotiating peace with Great Britain, then, he says, expected to be effected through the mediation of the Empress of Russia. He declined this appointment, he says, for the same reasons for which he had declined in 1776 And what were they? Take his words: "Such was the state of my family that I could not leave it, nor could I expose it to the dangers of the sea, and of capture by the British ships, then covering the ocean. I saw, too, that the laboring oar was really at home, where much was to be done of the most permanent interest, in new-modelling our Governments, and much to defend our fanes and firesides from the desolations of an invading enemy, pressing on our country on every point." The first of these reasons are mere private considerations. He could not leave his family, and would not expose his family to capture by British ships. John Adams three times exposed himself and two boys to capture by British ships during the war. He left his wife, daughter, and one infant son to the protection of his country. John Jay's wife and children went with him. Dr. Franklin went safe in 1776, as Jefferson would have gone if he had been with him. Henry Laurens was taken and sent to the Tower, and harshly treated; but his son was not even imprisoned, and was allowed to visit him; and so might it have been with Mr. Jefferson if he had gone, with or without his family, and been taken. There are dangers which a high-souled man engaged in a sacred cause must encounter and not flinch from. To assign them as reasons for declining the post of honor savors more of the Sybarite than of the Spartan. They remind one of the certain lord, neat, trimly dressed, who but for those vile guns would himself have been a soldier. As to the other reason, of staying at home to defend our fanes and firesides, it certainly did not apply to Mr. Jefferson either in 1776, when there was neither actual nor threatened invasion of Virginia, or in June, 1781, when Mr. Jefferson had slunk from that very defence into the inactive safety of a private citizen. Perhaps Mr. Jefferson was sufficiently punished for his dereliction of the cause by the humiliating necessity under

which he has been of drawing a veil over this portion of his life. "Pends-toi, brave Crillon," wrote Henry of Navarre to one of his heroic followers, "nous avons vaincu, et tu n'y étois pas." Mr. Jefferson's doctrine, that in time of public danger a professional soldier is preferable for the head of the nation to an eminent statesman, is anti-republican. Deliberate valor is a quality as necessary to a statesman as to a warrior; and if it was not an attribute of Mr. Jefferson it is but so much detracted from the greatness of his character. His successor, General Nelson, certainly did nothing which he might not have done in his place; and how much more illustrious would his name have been if his portrait could have appeared in Trumbull's picture of the Surrender of Cornwallis as conspicuous as in that of the Declaration of Independence!

26th. Mr. Crowninshield called upon me this morning, and Mr. Scott, a lawyer from Baltimore, who told me that he came to make his début before the Supreme Court of the United States. He spoke of the splendid argument of Mr. Wirt before the Senate of the United States, and which he concluded yesterday, in defence of Judge Peck; said the Senate-hall was so crowded with ladies that he could not obtain admission; and that there was great expectation of a speech from Mr. Webster, in assigning his reasons for the decision he may give as a Senator. Mr. Scott said that the most eloquent orator he had ever heard was William Pinkney.

Mr. Crowninshield came to make some enquiries respecting the incidents at the Cabinet meetings in 1818 on the transactions of the Seminole War. He showed me a letter from W. H. Crawford to him, dated the 5th of July last, of similar import to that which I received from Crawford last summer, and asking the same questions, though more leadingly circumstantial, respecting the alleged private letter from Jackson to Mr. Monroe. Crowninshield said he had answered this letter, confirming the statement of Crawford, as within his recollection, though without specially adverting to the time when it happened, which was left unspecified in Crawford's letter; that Crawford had declared that he did not wish his answer to make any particular use of it, but that lately Mr. Calhoun had

applied to him, stating that Crawford had used extracts of Crowninshield's answer to him, and asking for a copy of it. He said he thought he had kept a copy of his answer to Crawford, but that upon writing to his son at Salem it did not appear that he had; that within these three or four days Mr. Calhoun had called upon him and shown him, by references to the National Intelligencer of 1818, that he (Crowninshield) was not here at the time of the Cabinet meetings in July of that year; and there were entered on the back of Crawford's letter to him minutes of articles from the National Intelligencer from May to October, 1818, showing that Crowninshield had left this city with Mr. Monroe in May, and, without returning to it, had resigned his office of Secretary of the Navy in October. Crowninshield said this was certainly true, and he did not know how it happened that his memory had deceived him; that Major Lewis, who lives with the President, had written him a note requesting to see him, and that he had been with him this morning; that Lewis asked him if he was apprised that Mr. Calhoun had evidence that he (Crowninshield) was not present at the Cabinet meetings on the transactions of the Seminole War; that he had told Lewis he was perfectly apprised of that fact. And now Crowninshield asked me to advise him, as a friend, what he should do, and whether he should write a letter to Mr. Calhoun admitting that he had not been present at the Cabinet meetings.

I said I thought he could not refuse to acknowledge in writing the fact to Mr. Calhoun, who had received information of it indirectly from me; that I had received last summer from Mr. Crawford a similar letter to that which he now showed me, and, without knowing what was the motive of his enquiries, had answered that I had no recollection of the production, at the time mentioned by him, of any such letter as that mentioned by him, though I did recollect the production, at another Cabinet meeting, of private letters which had passed between General Jackson and Mr. Monroe upon another subject; that I had also received about a fortnight since from Mr. Calhoun a letter asking for my recollections on the same subject, and for copies of Mr. Crawford's letter to me, and of my answer;

that I had answered Mr. Calhoun's letter and his questions, promising him a copy of my answer to Mr. Crawford as soon as I can obtain it from Quincy, but declining to furnish a copy of Mr. Crawford's letter without his permission; that I had on the same day called upon Mr. Wirt, who, in conversation, had told me that Mr. Crawford had obtained from him (Crowninshield) a statement like that which he now acknowledged, and that I had immediately said that there must be some mistake in it, as Mr. Crowninshield had not been present at any of those Cabinet meetings, but was in Massachusetts when they were held; and I had no doubt Mr. Wirt had given information of this to Mr. Calhoun; that my advice to him was, if he still felt confident in the recollection of the production at any time of such a letter from Jackson, that he would bethink himself of the time when it might have happened; that it might have been at one of the Cabinet meetings on the transactions at Amelia Island at which he was present; that I had no recollection of it at any time, but would look over my diary minutes during the whole period, and, if I should find any trace of such an incident, would give him notice of it. He said Lewis had told him the President insisted that his letter was of a much earlier date. I examined my diary from October, 1817, to May, 1818, but found no trace of the production of any such letter.

27th. Consumed much of the morning in reviewing my diary from October, 1817, to January, 1819, upon the negotiation with Spain, the transactions at Amelia Island, and of the Seminole War in Florida. Recurred also to my file of letters from Mr. Monroe while I was Secretary of State, and to my letter-books. In the evening I read a few pages of Jefferson's correspondence. The memoir gives a short account of the composition and publication of his Notes on Virginia, which originated in the practice of committing to writing on loose and disconnected sheets any information of his country which might be of use to him in any station, public or private—an excellent habit, which cannot be too earnestly recommended to every young man. It had been, however, pursued by Mr. Jefferson without premeditated method, till it formed a bundle of loose papers, without order, and difficult of recurrence when he had

occasion for any particular one. The best of all systems for this purpose is to combine and carry on together a diary and commonplace book upon the plan of Locke's. These should be upon papers of one size, and stitched in quires of six or eight sheets each, to be bound in volumes as the matter sufficiently accumulates. In 1781, Mr. De Marbois, of the French Legation, having been instructed by his Government to obtain statistical accounts of the several States of the Union, addressed to Jefferson a number of queries relative to the State of Virginia. This gave him an occasion to embody the substance of his materials, which he did in the order of Mr. Marbois' queries, so as to answer his wish and to arrange them for the writer's own use. Friends to whom they were communicated wished for copies, which their volume rendering it too laborious to make by hand, he proposed to get a few copies printed. This, in America, he found would have been too costly an undertaking. At Paris, discovering that it could be done for a fourth of what he had been asked at home, he had two hundred copies printed, which he distributed among his friends in Europe and America. A bad French translation, but partly corrected by him, was published in Paris; and a London bookseller, on seeing the French translation, requested his permission to reprint the original—which he granted. This, he says, is the true history of that publication, and it added very greatly to its reputation. The work is still somewhat defective in its arrangement, but contains much valuable matter. There is added to the work at its close a draft of what he thought would be a suitable Constitution for Virginia, but no part of which was, I believe, ever adopted.

In his correspondence at the time when he first printed the book, he appears to have been under some alarm lest the freedom and severity of his remarks upon slavery, and upon the Constitution of Virginia then existing, would occasion irritation, and retard the reformation which he wished to promote. Mr. Jefferson's love of liberty was sincere and ardent—not confined to himself, like that of most of his fellow-slaveholders. He was above that execrable sophistry of the South Carolinian nullifiers, which would make of slavery the cornerstone to the temple of liberty. He saw the gross inconsistency

between the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the fact of negro slavery, and he could not, or would not, prostitute the faculties of his mind to the vindication of that slavery which from his soul he abhorred. Mr. Jefferson had not the spirit of martyrdom. He would have introduced a flaming denunciation of slavery into the Declaration of Independence, but the discretion of his colleagues struck it out. He did insert a most eloquent and impassioned argument against it in his Notes upon Virginia; but on that very account the book was published almost against his will. He projected a plan of general emancipation in his revision of the Virginian laws, but finally presented a plan of leaving slavery precisely where it was. And in his memoirs he leaves a posthumous warning to the planters, that they must at no distant day emancipate their slaves, or that worse will follow; but he withheld the publication of his prophecy till he should himself be in the grave.

28th. Mr. Hall is a man from Kentucky, who, some days since, stopped me and introduced himself to me in the Pennsylvania Avenue. He now talked as if he meant to pass himself off upon me as a great politician and active canvassing partisan for Mr. Clay. He did not pretend to have any authority from him, but intimated that he had both will and power to promote the election of his friends in more than one county and district of Kentucky. He asked me what was my opinion of Mr. Clay's prospects in other parts of the Union, and finally proposed to me to correspond with him upon the subject. Nay, more, he gave it as his opinion that if Mr. Clay should be elected President of the United States, it would be his duty to do something for my family, or even for myself. Is this man knave or fool? Is he Clayite, Jacksonite, or Van Burenite? Is he set upon me to fish for words or thoughts to be used against me hereafter, or is he a mere consequential frequenter of bar-rooms, wishing to make himself important by mystification and nonsense? I grew very sick of him before he left me, and, although he told me that he had an "A" in his name, given him by his father for Adams, I parted from him, heartily willing never to see him again.

Colonel Thomas afterwards called upon me, and had also

much conversation with me upon politics. He told me of the sayings of Barry, the Postmaster-General, and of the ex-General McNeill, Surveyor of the port of Boston. Barry says that he himself is for General Jackson as President, and looks no farther; he will not tack himself either to Van Buren or Calhoun; that Clay is a man of talent, but has lost the confidence of Kentucky since his return from Europe; that he came back an altered man, and connected himself with aristocrats and federalists; that Jackson would always beat him in Kentucky, and so would Richard M. Johnson. Barry told me, too, that the Globe, the new paper, had been set up here because an *independent* newspaper had long been wanted. The Telegraph and Duff Green are dependent upon Calhoun. The printing of the Post Office has therefore been transferred to the Globe, and probably the printing of Congress. Duff Green is to have a place. The difficulties at Boston are to pay the debts of the Statesman newspaper. The salaries of Henshaw, the Collector, and of all his subalterns, are laid under annual contribution to pay those debts, which Green, the ex-editor, now Postmaster, pretended at first were fifteen thousand, and now pretends were thirty-four thousand dollars. McNeill says that Green, the Postmaster, is a rascal; that the debt of the Statesman did not exceed seven thousand dollars, and that he will not contribute to pay them. They had taxed his office one hundred and fifty dollars a year. McNeill thinks he has not been rewarded sufficiently. He was a Brevet General in the army, and wanted a better office than he got. They cheated him, too, by the lure of the Naval Office when Boyd should die; instead of which, when Boyd died, Henshaw got a secret recommendation for one of his own kin, and another man, Leonard M. Parker, got the office. McNeill refused also to sign a recommendation of Levi Woodbury for an appointment as Minister to Russia, or elsewhere, which was got up by Hill, of New Hampshire, to pacify Woodbury for having supplanted him in the Senate of the United States, and which every custom house officer in Boston, from Henshaw down to the lowest tide-waiter, was required to sign. McNeill refused to sign, and said he would recommend Mr. Woodbury by himself.

Mr. Bailey called for half an hour this evening. He was going to a party at Mr. Branch's, Secretary of the Navy, who lives in our neighborhood. He mentioned a motion made in the House of Representatives this day by Le Compte, of Kentucky, for an instruction to the Judiciary Committee to enquire into the expediency of limiting the tenure of judicial offices to a term of years. Consideration rejected, by a vote of one hundred and fifteen to sixty-three. But the majority of the Judiciary Committee have reported a bill to repeal the twenty-fifth section of the Judiciary Law. I received a letter from Mr. Monroe.

29th. Another fall of snow, about three inches deep. It detained me at home for my usual walking time in the morning, and I occupied it in replying to the letter which I received yesterday from Mr. Monroe. Mr. Ruggles, the Senator from Ohio, introduced to me a young man from that State as the brother of Mr. John C. Wright. On returning from my walk, between noon and two P.M., I was overtaken by Mr. Gorham, the Representative from Boston, who told me that the bill reported by the majority of the Judiciary Committee, to repeal the twenty-fifth section of the Judiciary Act, had been rejected at the second reading, by a majority nearly the same as that which refused yesterday to consider the proposed resolution of Mr. Le Compte. This is a momentary respite for the judicial power of the Union, and to the Union itself, both of which are in imminent danger.

I received an application by letter from the Philoclean Society of Rutgers College, at New Brunswick, New Jersey, to deliver an oration to them on the 17th of next July—which I declined. I cannot conveniently leave my family at that season for so long a time and so great a distance; nor could I deliver to those young men in the compass of half an hour anything which could profit them in the proportion of the time and trouble which it would cost me, nor anything which would answer public expectation, as coming, with so much apparatus, from me.

I made progress this evening in the first volume of Jefferson's correspondence. The Commission for concluding treaties

of commerce with all or any of the nations of Europe, or of Barbary, consisting of my father, Dr. Franklin, and Mr. Jefferson, was opened at Paris in August, 1784, and continued there till May, 1785. They made their proposals to the Ministers of the several Governments residing there, but succeeded in concluding a treaty only with the King of Prussia. This had been commenced between my father and the Baron Thulemeyer, the Prussian Minister at the Hague, and with him, and not with the Prussian Minister, it was negotiated. In the spring of 1785, Dr. Franklin, then in the eightieth year of his age, and suffering with gout and stone, returned to the United States. Mr. Jefferson was appointed his successor as Minister to the Court of France, and John Adams was commissioned as the first Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at the Court of Great Britain. In May my father went to England. In July Dr. Franklin embarked for America. The treaty with Prussia was executed by my father, in London; by Dr. Franklin, at Passy; by Mr. Jefferson, at Paris; and by the Baron de Thulemeyer, at the Hague. After the departure of Dr. Franklin, the treaty-making Commission still continued in force, and a treaty with the Emperor of Morocco was accomplished by Thomas Barclay, then Consul-General of the United States in France, and who received his power and instructions from John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. But the European powers in general received with cool indifference, some of them scarcely with the forms of courtesy, the proposals of the United States. Early in the year 1786, my father, thinking that he perceived in the British Government a disposition to treat, sent, by Colonel W. S. Smith, a pressing invitation to Mr. Jefferson to come to London. He went accordingly, and was there from the 1st of March to the 26th of April, but, with his colleague, was received with most ungracious notice by the King and Queen at Court; and on the first conference with the Marquis of Caermarthen, Mr. Jefferson was convinced there was nothing to be done. Mr. Adams not so much despairing, they delivered their project of a treaty. The Marquis afterwards, without declining, evaded meeting them again in conference, and Mr. Jefferson returned to Paris. He had very little there

to do, and for that little found the Count de Vergennes, notwithstanding his reputation of being a wary and slippery diplomatist, quite as sincere and as little addicted to double-dealing as himself. They had the sense to see that neither could gain anything by deceiving the other. Montmorin he pronounces an honest man.

30th. Returning home, I received by the mail several letters, among which one from my son Charles, enclosing copies of W. H. Crawford's letter of 5th July last to me, and of my answer. I had this morning received a second letter of enquiries from Vice-President Calhoun, requesting statements of the conduct of Mr. Crawford in the deliberations of the Cabinet upon the Seminole War; and I now received one from Mr. Wirt, saying that he had received a similar letter, and wished to confer with me before he should answer it, but that he was confined to his lodgings by indisposition, and expressing the wish that I would call upon him there.

We dined early, and I had a short visit from Judge Thompson, of the Supreme Court. He is alarmed for the fate of the Judiciary and of the Bank of the United States, and thinks, as I do, that the leading system of the present Administration is to resolve the Government of the Union into the national imbecility of the old Confederation. I then went to Mr. Wirt's lodgings, at Mr. Mills's, on the Capitol Hill. He was in bed, and asleep. Judge Peck, his fellow-lodger and client, awoke him. He arose, and I had a conference with him of about four hours. The letter which he had this morning received from Mr. Calhoun, with the exception of a question concerning Crawford's remarks at a Cabinet meeting upon Porter's conduct at Foxardo, which was in the letter to me, was "totidem verbis" the same. He told me that Calhoun had spoken to him on the subject in the Senate-chamber yesterday, and had said that he should address these questions to him and to me; that he had informed Calhoun that he should have objections to answering them; that his (Calhoun's) application to him last spring had been for testimony to his (Calhoun's) own conduct, and that in giving it he had explicitly stated it was because it imported no violation of confidence as a member of Mr.

Monroe's Administration; that now his questions related to the conduct of another person, and although Mr. Crawford himself had felt at liberty to disclose circumstances which had occurred at Mr. Monroe's Cabinet meetings, and ridiculed Mr. Wirt's scruples, he nevertheless still felt their force, as they would bear upon what he might say even of Mr. Crawford himself. He must be consistent with the ground which he had taken last spring; and he thought he could not give testimony in writing to the conduct of Mr. Crawford without his consent, which he did not think it his duty to ask.

I concurred in these opinions, but said there were two contingencies which might release us from the obligations of secrecy, even without the consent of Mr. Crawford: one, if he should have made use of communications received from us contrary to his own obligations; and another, if he should have made misrepresentations to injure Mr. Calhoun which could be rectified only by our testimony.

He said that Mr. Calhoun had in his possession, and had shown him, the original letter from General Jackson to Mr. Monroe which had given rise to this controversy; that Crawford's letter of nine sheets to Calhoun contained extracts of my answer to his letter; that Calhoun is under a firm persuasion that the author of all this combustion is Martin Van Buren, who had used the agency of James A. Hamilton in producing it; that Hamilton, as well as Forsyth, had been a go-between to and from Nashville; that Calhoun knew last spring that Crowninshield had not been present at the Cabinet meetings in July, 1818, and that there was a gentleman here who would testify that Crowninshield had told him so.

I read to Mr. Wirt the copies of Mr. Crawford's letter of last summer to me, and of my answer, and of all the minutes of my diary from May to August, 1818, and told him of the opinion of Crawford in January, 1819, that the places in Florida should be abandoned even if Spain should send no officer to receive them, to prove most signally that Jackson had violated his orders; and in December, 1824, at the meeting upon Porter's outrages at Foxardo. Wirt said he thought Calhoun knew this fact by his own recollection, and also by a correspondence

with Mr. Southard. We both agreed that we would furnish no statement for the private portfolio of Mr. Calhoun, which is one of his proposals. Wirt said he would procure a copy of his own statement made last spring, make his present answer conformable to it, and communicate both of them to me. I said that I owed no favor or subscription either to Crawford or Calhoun. Both of them had treated me with base and gratuitous ingratitude. But Calhoun was a drowning man, and now stretched forth his arms imploring us to save him. It was in our power to save him; and if Mr. Crawford, after drawing a letter from me under a pledge that it was not intended for publicity, had sent garbled extracts from it to Calhoun, suppressing the parts of it which did not suit his purposes, I should feel very little delicacy of confidential secrecy so far as should concern him. Upon mere principles of humanity I would save Mr. Calhoun—extricate him from the deep into which he is sinking, and let him run, to live upon his reflections.

Wirt concurred entirely with me in opinion that this was a snare deliberately spread by Crawford to accomplish the utter ruin of Calhoun; but Mr. Wirt was not absolutely sure that he should be fully justified in disregarding the confidential secrecy of Mr. Monroe's Cabinet even by turning the example of Crawford against himself. It was near midnight when I came home.

31st. The Senate this day, by a vote of twenty-two to twenty-one, acquitted Judge Peck of the misdemeanor charged against him by the House of Representatives. The vote was nearly, but not quite, a party one: Robbins and Clayton, of the opposition, Grundy, Tazewell, and White, of the Administration party, went with their antipodes; the former for conviction, and the latter for acquittal. Grundy and White are the two Senators from Tennessee; and their votes afford conclusive proof that no personal influence of the President was exercised against the Judge. They indicate still more—that the will of the President was favorable to the Judge. It is highly probable that Jackson did not wish to see an impeachment of a Judge, commenced by Buchanan, successfully carried through. The same motive contributed to save Judge Chase in 1805. Jefferson saw that the conviction of Chase would have riveted the

power of John Randolph over both Houses of Congress, and he dreaded the consequences to himself and his own Administration. They would have been formidable and mischievous. Jackson's aversion to Buchanan is more immediately personal and vindictive. It arises from the disclosure by Buchanan of his dirty intrigue with Jackson in December, 1824, to authorize him to purchase Clay by the promise of sacrificing me—which authority Jackson gave him, and Buchanan made an abortive attempt to carry into effect. Buchanan afterwards revealed the whole transaction, with an obtuseness of moral feeling, seemingly unconscious of moral turpitude in the avowal, and with a dulness of intellect, equally unconscious of the javelin he was thrusting into the side of Jackson, who never will forgive him nor miss any opportunity of inflicting punishment upon him. This I take to be the secret of the votes of Hugh Lawson White and Felix Grundy upon this trial. T. Ringgold has lost the office of Marshal of the District, and Colonel Henry Ashton has been nominated to take his place. Ashton is a petty Crawfordite lawyer converted into a Jackson Central Committee man. Ringgold is poor, with an expensive family, and has been an excellent officer. There is sympathy with him, but it is a sympathy of fear. "Oderint dum metuant" is the maxim of the day.

Day. The hours of rising and retiring to rest, of breakfast and dinner, are as at the close of the last month. I frequent no society, and, with the exception of my daily walks, we are confined within the walls of our house as if it were a ship at sea. I spend about six hours of the day in writing—diary, arrears of index, and letters. I have given up entirely my classical reading, and almost all other, excepting the daily newspapers, and, interruptedly, a few pages of Jefferson's writings. My reflections upon these as I proceed I now introduce into this journal, and it swells the record of almost every day. I enjoy a degree of tranquillity such as I never before experienced; interrupted only by the idea that by my own as yet insuperable indolence it is a time of *fainéantise*, and by the consciousness that it must be speedily changed for a return to all the cares, mortifications, and perplexities of ungracious

public life. The month has been of winter unusually severe, but my own condition is one of unparalleled comfort and enjoyment.

February 1st. Mr. Jefferson states in his memoir that during his residence in France he prepared, and proposed to the Ministers at Paris of the powers which were annoyed by habitual depredations of the Barbary pirates, articles of a special confederation against them, which were so favorably received by their Governments, and countenanced by the Count de Vergennes, that they would have been carried into effect but that our own Congress declined the engagement to keep one frigate in constant cruise, for our portion of the expense of protecting the general commerce of all the parties to the compact. To maintain one frigate would have been an effort far beyond the powers of Congress under the Confederation. This is another glowing proof of the imbecility of that instrument. But it appears by some of Mr. Jefferson's subsequent correspondence that, in his opinion, Congress had, by the Confederation, the power of regulating the commerce of the United States with nations with whom they had commercial treaties, and not with any others; so that the constitutional power of the Federal Union was matter of grant and concession, not by the people of the States, or the States of the Union, but by foreign Governments. An English, a French, a Spanish, or a Russian monarch granted powers to the Congress of the United States over the commerce of the United States! This surpasses the absurdity of the endless debates whether seven States could ratify the Treaty of Independence. The insatiate rage of debating the question of constitutional power upon everything has been inherited from the Confederation; and Jefferson, more than any other man, contributed to introduce and make it prevalent.

2d. Walk before breakfast. Stop at Coale's shop, and at Stone's. There were news from Europe—London dates to 17th December. A revolution in Poland, and Prince Adam Czartorisky at the head of a Provisional Government at Warsaw. Hunt, the mobocrat, elected into Parliament for Preston, in opposition to Stanley, the Whig grandson of the Earl of

Derby. Elliott Cresson paid me a morning visit; just from President Jackson, who had been treating him roughly. Elliott is a member and delegate of the Colonization Society, who wish to have a public vessel stationed to cruise on the coast of Liberia, to protect our commerce with that flourishing settlement, and look out for slavers. But the Colonization Society is out of favor with Jackson, as it always has been with me. Cresson says that his language was almost abusive; that he charged me with having squandered the public money upon this establishment without law; that he said there were not three hundred colonists at the place; that almost all who went out there died of pestilence, and that every word that Mr. Kendall had said was true. Cresson was in amazement at his ignorance.

The public expenditures with which Jackson reproached me were made under a construction of an Act of Congress passed during Mr. Monroe's Administration, sanctioned by him, by the Secretary of the Navy, Smith Thompson, and by W. H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, a member and Vice-President of the Colonization Society. The language of the Act was ambiguous, and the construction given to it was against my opinion. At the ensuing session of Congress, however, Mr. Monroe gave notice to that body, by a message, of his construction of the Act, that they might control it if they thought proper. They never did control it; and the expenditures under it continued during my Administration, because I did not feel myself at liberty to reverse the decision of Mr. Monroe and two or three eminent lawyers, his Secretaries, tacitly supported by Congress itself.

Mr. Heath is a Methodist clergyman, who came to solicit contributions for a sort of collegiate school at Readfield, in the State of Maine. I had, like Yorick, predetermined not to give him a single sou; but I could not withstand his rustic eloquence, and finally gave way, perhaps without being entitled to the merit of a cheerful giver. The school unites instruction in literature with mechanical agricultural labor, and has a hundred students.

3d. My occupations were somewhat interrupted by a threatened inflammation of the eyes, which alarmed me, and abridged

my reading to a few letters of Mr. Jefferson in his first volume. They are far less interesting than the memoir, in which, after the narrative of his abortive attempt to form a confederacy against the pirates of Barbary, he gives an account of his acquaintance with John Ledyard, the traveller, to whom he suggested the project of discovering the Northwestern passage between the two hemispheres, by proceeding through Siberia to Kamschatka, thence over to Nootka Sound, and across the continent to the Atlantic. Ledyard undertook the expedition. Jefferson, through the Russian Ambassador, Simolin, and through Grimm, the correspondent of the Empress Catherine, solicited her permission, without success. In the preface to the account of Lewis and Clarke's Expedition to the Pacific, he had stated that Catherine gave, and afterwards retracted, that permission. He now corrects that error, and acquits the Empress of ever having for a moment countenanced, even by the indulgence of an innocent passage through her territories, this interesting enterprise. The prior statement was unjust to the memory of the Empress, inasmuch as it charged her with an arbitrary violation of her own safe-conduct—with a substantial breach of faith. In acknowledging his wrong, Mr. Jefferson punishes Catherine for his previous injustice to her. His acquittal is a severe sentence of condemnation; his apology is an aggravated insult. But Catherine was a crowned head, and is unpopular; two descriptions of characters for whom Jefferson has no mercy. Ledyard undertook the journey without permission, and had reached within two hundred miles of Kamschatka, when he was arrested, brought back to Poland, and there dismissed. There was nothing in this dishonorable to the Empress Catherine, who certainly acted by the advice of her counsellors, who could have no personal motive for opposition to the undertaking of Ledyard, and who was individually as ambitious of philosophical fame and as eager for the progress of discovery as Mr. Jefferson himself.

4th. I received a third letter from J. C. Calhoun, urging me for a statement of W. H. Crawford's conduct and opinions expressed at the Cabinet consultations of Mr. Monroe upon the Seminole War in July, 1818, and afterwards.

I had intimated in my answer to his last letter that I could not answer his questions respecting the conduct and opinions of Mr. Crawford without a fuller knowledge of the precise point of difference between them, and a perusal of the previous correspondence upon the subject.

He replies by giving me a second extract of the letter from Crawford to Forsyth, which marks clearly enough the difference between the parties as to matter of fact; but, although he makes frequent reference to the previous correspondence, he neither communicates it nor notices the observation concerning it in my letter; and he modifies his questions respecting the conduct and opinions of Crawford.

This withholding of the correspondence, passing over wholly unnoticed my demand for a perusal of it, and re-urging, under a new form, the request of a statement by me of Crawford's opinions and conduct, is characteristic. It satisfied me that I ought not to proceed a step further without a sight of the previous correspondence. Mr. Crawford's letter to Forsyth is accusatory of Calhoun, palliatory for himself, and, even if true as regards Mr. Monroe, a breach of confidence, according to my principles. But there must have been some cause, possibly some provocation, for Crawford's letter. Wirt says that Crawford's letter to Calhoun ridicules the idea that there is any obligation of secrecy remaining upon the members of Mr. Monroe's Administration concerning anything that took place in Cabinet consultations; that he considers it all as belonging to the history of the time, upon which the immediate actors have the right to speak as freely as if three centuries had intervened. These principles are so vicious that I would not without powerful reasons apply them even to himself.

5th. Mrs. Tudor called, and had some conversation with me respecting the biographical article upon her son William which I have engaged to furnish for the North American Review. I told her that, in compliance with the request of Mrs. Stewart, I had written to my son Charles, requesting him to look up the papers and send them here by W. Lee, if he should come in the course of the winter; but that I expected myself to return to Quincy early in April, and that without the papers it would

not be possible for me to write. She doubted whether Mr. Lee would come before the spring, and thought it best that he should not be charged with the papers. But she said that Mrs. Stewart was very desirous that in the biography of her brother something should be introduced showing his opinion of her; and she added that an Englishman named Fisher had once published in a Boston newspaper a Latin poem in honor of my father, of which she herself had made a translation; but she did not think that was worth republishing, nor see how it could be introduced into the biography of William Tudor.

It reminded me of Mallet's telling Garrick that he had a niche for him in the Life of the Duke of Marlborough. Mrs. Tudor afterwards sent me over the Latin poem and translation, and a letter from the Rev. Mr. Stuart, late a missionary to the Sandwich Islands, to Mrs. Stewart, with which there was an enclosure—part of a manuscript which the said missionary Stuart is about to publish. It is the narrative of his late mission; and this part of it was the account of his landing at Rio de Janeiro on his way to the mission, and of the kind and hospitable treatment which he received from Mr. Tudor. It is expanded into a warm and high-wrought panegyric of Mr. Tudor, into which, no doubt at the request of these ladies, is interwoven a great part of the obituary notice written by me last spring and then published in the National Intelligencer. The poem is a Latin ode, in one of the Horatian measures, upon the second centennial Plymouth celebration, 22d December, 1820, signed John C. Fisher, and published in the Boston Daily Advertiser of 9th January, 1821. The translation is manuscript, in elegiac rhyme.

I received another letter from J. C. Calhoun, with a further extract of one from W. H. Crawford to J. Forsyth.

9th. A person by the name of John A. King, of Georgetown, paid me a morning visit. He said he was a native of that place; son of a man who had been heretofore an eminent merchant there; about thirty-five years of age; that he had been bred a lawyer, and practised some time in Maryland, and some time, I think, in a western county of Virginia. He had been a warm supporter of mine at the last and preceding Presidential elections, and, by verbal and printed addresses to the people,

had endeavored to promote the cause, though without success. After the event of that election he had returned and settled himself at Georgetown, and married a wife of property sufficient to make him independent and enable him to live comfortably without a profession. Under these circumstances he had been desirous of obtaining a commission as a magistrate, and went with a written recommendation from the whole corporation of Georgetown to President Jackson. He received him very courteously, and, after reading the recommendation, endorsed upon it an order to the Secretary of State to cause a commission to be made out forthwith for his signature; but, King said, he could not help remarking that there was not a line of grammar in the order. He took it to the Department of State. The Secretary was not at the office. He left the recommendation and endorsed order with Josias W. King, the Clerk, who still has the charge of making out the commissions. After waiting several weeks without receiving the commission, he went again to the Department, to enquire why it had not been sent to him. The Clerk, King, told him there had been a counter-order from the President. He repaired to the President, and enquired what was the cause of the revocation of this order. The President told him he had been advised by Mr. Francis Key that John A. King had been opposed to his election as President and made speeches against him, and was, therefore, an improper person to be appointed as a magistrate. King said he wished to have his recommendation returned to him, and asked me if he had not a right to demand it.

I told him that the practice while I was in office was to return all recommendations which were unsuccessful, when demanded by the person recommended; that I thought he had a right to his, and advised him to demand it by a written application to the Secretary of State. I did not expect, however, that he would obtain it. They would either refuse it or answer him that it could not be found. This is one of the cleanly operations of the pious informer, Frank Key.

12th. There was an eclipse of the sun of eleven and three-quarters digits; the sky perfectly clear, but the weather, for the season, was uncommonly cold. I went up to Mr. William

Elliott's, on the Capitol Hill, where the observation of it was made with four telescopes—two within and two without the house. There were several other visitors, most of whom came and went during the observation—Mr. Roux de Rochelle, the French Minister, his son, and Mr. Sontag, of the Legation; the Baron de Lederer; Vice-President Calhoun; the Senators M. Dickerson and A. Naudain; members of the House, Johns, Hodges, Dwight, Verplanck, and Martin of South Carolina; Judge Cranch and his son William; and others. Verplanck sneaked, as he always does, at the sight of me. The eclipse, by a mean of several observations, began at 11.12.18, and ended at 2.17.40, mean time; but there was a difference of several minutes between the observers of the different telescopes as to the time of ending. The thermometer, exposed to the sun, fell during the progress of the eclipse from 46 to 27, and, as the moon passed off, rose again to 50. The barometer remained steady at 30.28. There was no darkness, but at the greatest obscuration the light of the sun was pale and sickly. The planet Venus and the star Vega were seen as they sometimes are after sunrise.

Mr. Martin took me aside, and delivered to me a letter from Vice-President Calhoun, with a bundle of papers, being the correspondence between him and President Jackson concerning the course of Calhoun at the Cabinet consultations of Mr. Monroe's Administration upon Jackson's conduct in the Seminole War. Mr. Martin said that Mr. Calhoun wished to have the papers returned to him to-morrow morning, and had desired him to say to me that there was another letter from Mr. Crawford to him not included in the papers, because Mr. Calhoun had declined to receive it, and had sent it back to Mr. Crawford.

The two Houses of Congress adjourned in the midst of the eclipse. Mr. Roux de Rochelle took me home in his carriage, and I spent the remainder of the day in reading Mr. Calhoun's manuscript, with his vouchers, and in answering his letter. He states that he may be under the necessity of publishing the correspondence, and asks my permission to use my letters to him, particularly that of 14th January last. My answer places

them all at his disposal, provided he publishes with the assent of Mr. Monroe.

13th. Colonel Towson called upon me just before church-time this morning, with a request from Mr. Calhoun for the return of his papers. I gave them accordingly, together with my answer to his letter to the Colonel, who told me that Mr. Martin had left the city last evening, as he had mentioned to me that he should.

I called at Gadsby's Hotel, and had a long conversation with Mr. Wirt, who now lodges there. I had sent him an invitation to dine with us this day, which he declined. I told him of the correspondence which, since I last saw him, had taken place between Mr. Calhoun and me, and that he had yesterday sent me a part of the previous correspondence, which I had read and sent back to him this morning. But I observed that Mr. Calhoun had withheld two important papers: one, the letter from General Jackson to Mr. Monroe of 6th January, 1818; and the other, Crawford's last letter to Calhoun, which he sent me word he had returned to Crawford.

Wirt said he had been mistaken with regard to the letter from General Jackson; that it was not the original that he had seen, but a copy; and that Calhoun had also kept a copy of the letter from Crawford, which he had retained. Mr. Wirt's recent communications with Calhoun have been verbal, and not by letter. He has declined giving any statement of Crawford's sayings and doings upon the Seminole question, and says he has very freely given his opinion that he had blasted his prospects of future advancement forever. Calhoun nevertheless entertains very sanguine hopes.

Wirt spoke to me also in deep concern and alarm at the state of Chief-Justice Marshall's health. He is seventy-five years of age, and has until lately enjoyed fine health, exercised great bodily activity, and sustained an immense mass of bodily labor. His mind remains unimpaired, but his body is breaking down. He has been thirty years Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and has done more to establish the Constitution of the United States on sound construction than any other man living. The terror is, that if he should be now withdrawn some shallow-

pated wild-cat like Philip P. Barbour, fit for nothing but to tear the Union to rags and tatters, would be appointed in his place. Mr. Wirt's anticipations are gloomy, and I see no reasonable prospect of improvement.

On returning home, I found the young Quaker to whom Gales and Seaton had given a letter of introduction, Lindley, and another by the name of Benjamin Lundy, editor of a weekly paper called The Genius of Universal Emancipation. It was first published in Tennessee, afterwards in Baltimore, and now comes out in this city. Its object is to promote the abolition of slavery—of which Lundy freely expressed his confidence and hopes.

14th. Colonel Thomas was here, and had much to tell of politics and politicians. He spoke of letters from Preble, now Minister to the Netherlands, to Mr. Jarvis, a member of Congress from the State of Maine. He said, also, that Jarvis had told him he had read the correspondence which Mr. Calhoun is intending to publish, and gave him an account of its purport; correct enough as far as it went, for Thomas repeated to me what Jarvis said he had remarked in several of the letters, and the report was accurate.

Met J. Sergeant and D. Webster, who says that if Mr. Calhoun publishes his pamphlet it is understood that the combined party are to consider it as a mere personal affair between him and the President, which is not to affect their proceedings in public concerns.

15th. In the middle of the day I walked to the Capitol Square. Met the Reverend Mr. Breckenridge, who told me that he had sent me an invitation to attend a meeting at Mr. Post's church for a benevolent purpose; that they would have been very glad to invite assistance from me by the delivery of an address, but supposed that I might not be at present inclined to appear so much in public. On returning home, I found that the meeting was of the American Sunday-School Union, with a view to the establishment of Sunday-schools in the Valley of the Mississippi.

I also met in walking Captain Morgan, of the navy, with a young man, one of the sons of Mr. Middleton, our late Minister

at St. Petersburg—quite a young man, and almost feminine in his appearance, except that he had a complete beard, about three inches long. I suppose this is the dandy costume at present in Europe, and have been expecting it these two years. The beard has been creeping down the cheeks from the ears till the two sides have met at the chin. The same fashion prevailed about twenty-five years since; but the tip of the chin was then respected.

16th. Dr. Huntt was here, more full of politics and personalities than of physic. He says Mr. Calhoun's pamphlet is to be published to-morrow morning. Duff Green, editor of the Telegraph, has been elected by both Houses public printer for the next Congress. Green is understood to be in the interest of Mr. Calhoun. A new paper, published twice a week, and called The Globe, has been established, supposed to be under the auspices of Mr. Van Buren, Secretary of State. These are the two candidates in embryo for the succession to the Presidency. Each of them must have his newspaper, and in our Presidential canvassing an editor has become as essential an appendage to a candidate as in the days of chivalry a 'squire was to a knight. Dr. Huntt is grievously annoyed by the appointment of H. Ashton as Marshal of the District, in the place of his father-in-law, Tench Ringgold. Ashton is a small lawyer, originally a toaster of Crawford, as long as there was a prospect of creeping into an office by puffing him. When Crawford was distanced in the field, he, like John P. Van Ness, now the Mayor of the city, crossed over into the Jackson camp; and both were members of the Central Committee which took charge of his cause and his person at the time of his election. All the members of this Central Committee had already obtained offices, and Ashton has long given out that this place had been promised to him when Ringgold's term of service should expire. When Mr. Monroe was here last winter, he dined with President Jackson, who affected to treat him with affectionate respect and kindness; and on taking leave of him Mr. Monroe said to him that he might probably never see him again; that he would venture to ask of him only one favor, and that was, to recommend

Marshal Ringgold to his kindness; and then he spoke with much feeling of the causes of his own attachment to Ringgold; upon which Jackson took Monroe's hand, pressed it between both his own, and said, "Say not one word more, Mr. Monroe," which Ringgold took for an inviolable promise that he should be continued in his place. Jackson now denies that he meant it as a promise, or even as encouragement to Mr. Monroe to expect that his wish would be gratified; but he told Ringgold that it was a poignant mortification to him to pass him over and nominate another Marshal, most particularly because he knew it would displease his two old friends James Monroe and George Gibson; and he promised to give him a better place. But this case, with many others, has afforded demonstration of the prevailing influence of spies and informers. A captious complaint was made against Ringgold to me by two Justices of the Levy Court of the county of Washington as having misapplied moneys collected by him for the county expenses, and which they wanted to improve the roads to and from their own houses. I made enquiry into the facts, and satisfied myself that there was no foundation for the complaint, which I accordingly dismissed. When Jackson came in, the Levy Court Justices returned to the charge. Jackson, in his superabundant zeal for justice, decided against Ringgold, compelled him to pay the money to the Justices, and drove him to the recovery of his money by suit at law. Ringgold instituted the suit, and has just obtained the judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States in his favor. The public have to refund, with costs and charges, the moneys extorted from Ringgold by the summary justice of the Bashaw President. Ringgold had been advised by Van Buren to show a popular voice in his favor by obtaining signatures recommending him for re-appointment, and accordingly procured about eighteen hundred of the most respectable names in the District. They had not the weight of a feather. In expostulating with Jackson upon his disappointment, Ringgold found that Jackson's earwigs, such as Frank Key, had whispered to him that Ringgold had made some unguarded comment upon the unsullied chastity of Jackson's wife. Jackson told him, however, that it had gone in at one

ear and out at the other. But he had heard that when the ex-Presidents Madison and Monroe were nominated by my friends in Virginia as Electors of President and Vice-President, Ringgold had gone express to Mr. Monroe, at Loudoun, to persuade him not to decline. Ringgold not only denied the fact, but affirmed that he had, on the contrary, defended and justified Mr. Monroe for declining, against the opinion of Mr. Southard. The denial did not avail him; and such is the rancorous and vindictive character of Jackson, that in all probability this secret charge was the seal upon the fate of Ringgold. Received a letter from Mr. Monroe, which I immediately answered.

17th. Morning visit from the Portuguese Minister of Don Miguel, who, though not accredited till after I was out of office, calls on me more frequently than any other of the foreign Ministers. He finds his situation perhaps more solitary, his master being yet a much unacknowledged King. He boasts that Portugal is now of all Europe the country which enjoys the greatest portion of tranquillity—which, he insists, is owing to the great popularity of the present Government.

A person by the name of Lockwood came to ask my advice what he should do with regard to a large quantity of timber for which he had contracted in Florida to supply to the Government, but for which he could not pay without an advance, which the Navy Department refused to make. This man had called upon me last winter or spring to ask advice upon the same subject. He now spoke of petitioning Congress, and asked me if I thought he would have any prospect of success in this.

I told him that the Secretary of the Navy could not make him an advance if he would. There was a law to preclude it. And at this period of the session of Congress he could not expect to obtain an Act to authorize it. I advised him, therefore, to sell his timber in its present condition to any speculators who would purchase and pay for it; and if, as was probable, he should be obliged to make some sacrifice upon the sale, he must consider himself as fortunate in getting rid of the whole concern. He said he believed that was the best advice I could give, and thought he would endeavor to carry it into effect.

Mr. Calhoun's pamphlet was published last night at midnight.

It is the correspondence as communicated to me, with two or three additional papers, particularly a preliminary address to the people of the United States, which is published in the National Intelligencer of this morning. In my walk round the Capitol Square I met E. Everett, R. G. Amory, E. Wyer, and Matthew L. Davis, all of whom, excepting Wyer, spoke of the pamphlet. I received a copy of it under cover from Mr. Calhoun himself, and afterwards two copies from Wyer, which he had sent me at midnight.

M. L. Davis asked me if I had seen Crawford's answer. I answered, no, and enquired who had it. He replied that he had read it, and with it a certificate from Captain James Ross, which, he said, Crawford told Calhoun was a Rowland for his Oliver. It is to prove some duplicity in Calhoun.

18th. Dr. Huntt was here. I asked him what was the occasion of the mention made of Marshal Ringgold in the pamphlet. Jackson says in a letter to Forsyth that he had been informed the Marshal of this District made to a friend of his (Jackson's) a statement concerning the Seminole War Cabinet meetings similar to that of Crawford. Huntt said it was this. When Mr. Monroe dined with President Jackson last winter, there was a great appearance of cordiality between the two Presidents as they sat side by side at the table; and a very earnest conversation observed between them, but not overheard. Ringgold, at whose house Mr. Monroe was then lodging, was at table, sitting next to John H. Eaton, the Secretary of War. He thought this outward show of cordiality was sincere, and observed to Eaton how much delighted he was to see the two old friends in such perfect union together; and then added that Mr. Monroe had always been the ardent friend of General Jackson, and particularly had supported him against the opinions of his Cabinet in the affair of the Seminole War. Eaton, who had a grudge against Calhoun ever since Mrs. Calhoun's refusal to associate with Mrs. Eaton, repeated this observation of Ringgold's to spur up Jackson's jealousy against Calhoun. About the same time, he was informed that James A. Hamilton had come to the knowledge of the statement made by Mr. Crawford. He asked Hamilton if it was so. Hamilton said, yes;

but he could not communicate it without Mr. Crawford's consent, which Jackson then requested him to obtain. These were the steps by which Crawford was brought into the position of an informer.

19th. During the time while the inflammation of my eyes denied me the enjoyment of my customary occupations, I have found most irksome those hours of the morning before daylight, and after awaking from the night's repose, when I could neither remain quiet in bed nor find anything to do upon rising. My thoughts, finding nothing upon which they could meditate with pleasure, turned inward, and preyed upon my own spirits. Discontented thoughts and a murmuring spirit were rising within me. In this condition I read the 131st Psalm, and bethought myself of amplifying it in a paraphrase, with reference to the temper of my own mind and to my duties. I am accordingly dilating it into several eight-lined stanzas, of which I compose one each morning.

I had a morning visit from Mr. Bell, of New Hampshire, who spoke of the proceedings in Senate upon the Turkish Treaty. The Senate have advised and consented to the ratification of the treaty, with the exception of the secret article, but no provision has yet been made for the expenses incident to the negotiation. The General Appropriation bill being before the Senate, a motion is made to add an item for compensation to all the Commissioners who have been employed in the negotiation, and for outfit and salary for a Minister at Constantinople.

Tazewell objects to this appropriation, under an old pretence that the President has no right to institute a new mission during the recess; an engine which they wielded against me, and to which he now resorts by an affectation of consistency.

Jackson has not only repeated all my sins in this matter, but suffered a whole session of Congress to pass without nominating his Commissioners to the Senate, and finally sends a treaty concluded by them without nominating them at all. Mr. Bell himself thinks this unconstitutional, and sustains Tazewell's objection, though not upon the same principle. He asked me some questions respecting the practice of the Government heretofore; and I mentioned to him the negotiation of the two treaties with

Algiers—first by Decatur and Shaler, and next by Chauncy and Shaler, and, as far as I recollect, that the first had not been submitted to the Senate till after the second was concluded. Mr. Bell did not perceive, from anything that has yet occurred in the Senate, what would be the probable effect of the new war of political elements.

20th. After church I paid two visits. The first at L'Etourno's, to Mr. White, the delegate from Florida. While I was with him, Judge Breckenridge, District Judge of West Florida, came in. Mr. White continues to be deeply concerned at the determination of the present Secretary of the Navy to break up the plantation of live-oaks which I had taken so much pains, and incurred so much public expense, to commence. The report of the Secretary of the Navy against it is remarkable at once for gross ignorance and wilful misrepresentation; and he has been guilty of a dishonorable suppression of a report from the Commissioners of the Navy, because it would have refuted and falsified his own. Mr. White lent me for perusal a letter, dated the 22d of January last, from himself to the Chairman of the Naval Committee of the House of Representatives, denying the facts and refuting the argument in the report of the Secretary; and also two letters to him (White) from W. D. Aitken, and one from William Darby, all showing the importance of my plantation, and indeed its indispensable necessity to preserve the existence of live-oak for timber. The malicious pleasure of destroying everything of which I had planted the germ, and the base purpose of representing as wasteful prodigality the most useful and most economical expenditures, are the motives that act upon the Secretary of the Navy and the present Administration. It happened that for the live-oak plantation purchases were made of about sixteen hundred acres of land from White and Breckenridge; and, although the timber upon them was worth more than they cost, this circumstance was seized upon to represent the transaction as a fraudulent job and squandering of public money. Judge Breckenridge, when this was suggested, immediately petitioned Congress to be permitted to take back his land at the same price which he had received for it; and that petition was rejected. The plantation, both of

young trees growing when I commenced it and of those from the acorn which I had caused to be planted, is now in a condition as flourishing as possible, and more than a hundred thousand live-oaks are growing upon it. All is to be abandoned by the stolid ignorance and stupid malignity of John Branch and of his filthy subaltern, Amos Kendall.

My next visit was to J. Sergeant, at Mrs. Blake's. Mr. Chambers, the Senator from Maryland, was there, and R. Peters, who, as I was coming away, invited me to a short private conversation in his chamber. He then said that Mr. Virgil Maxcy had requested him to say to me that all the particular friends of Mr. Calhoun had been highly gratified at the course I had recently pursued in the controversy now in progress between him and the President; and from Mr. Calhoun himself, that he had heard from Mr. Coale that I had expressed some sensibility at his neglect of me during the last two years; that he and Mrs. Calhoun had been under an accidental necessity of declining the last invitation to dine that I had given them, and that he had concluded I had taken offence at that incident; that the political relations in which we stood at that time had deprived him of an opportunity of giving me an explanation upon the subject, and had deterred him from visiting me; but that he had always entertained a respect for my character; that he was glad to give this assurance to me now, and that if it would be agreeable to me he would visit me before the close of the present session of Congress.

I said to Mr. Peters that I wished him to say for me to Mr. Maxcy, as the friend of Mr. Calhoun, that it was a pleasing circumstance to me to learn that the friends of Mr. Calhoun were satisfied with the course I had observed in the recent transactions concerning him, in which it had been my endeavor to do him justice as far as was in my power; that as to the incident of his and Mrs. Calhoun's declining to dine with me the last winter that I was in the Presidential house, it had been so far from making any impression upon my mind that it had even escaped my memory; that his total estrangement from me since the expiration of my term of service had been deeply felt by me, but that I was perfectly disposed to bury it in oblivion;

that I should be very happy to receive him whenever he should be disposed to call upon me; that whatever of unkind thoughts there might have between us I wished to be entirely forgotten, and that no further notice of it might ever be taken.

Mr. Peters said he would not fail to make his report accordingly to Mr. Maxcy.

21st. Morning visit from Colonel Thomas, with two of his friends, whom he introduced to me. Long visit also from P. R. Fendall, and in the evening from Judge Spencer and Mr. Silsbee. There are a multitude of stories in circulation exposing the ignorance of the present chief and associates of the Federal Government. Mr. Foote told me the other day of a conversation in which Jackson proved that he knew not the difference between the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean. Spencer told me this evening that Jackson, within a week, assured a gentleman that he had received very late advices from Europe that there were great disturbances in the Germantic and Italian possessions of Russia. And Silsbee said that Branch told some person that he should dispatch a ship to join the squadron in the Pacific, and give orders that she should sail in May, for the benefit of a summer passage round Cape Horn.

Whether all these stories are true, or some of them invented, they are all perfectly characteristic of the men by whom we are now governed, and of their scientific acquirements.

The effect of Mr. Calhoun's pamphlet is yet scarcely perceptible in Congress, still less upon public opinion. The Globe has come out with a commentary unfavorable to Calhoun; the Telegraph with another commentary in his favor. The Telegraph promises for to-morrow morning a letter from Mr. Forsyth, and one from Crawford to Mr. Calhoun; the same which he returned to Mr. Crawford and refused to receive. Two years have not yet elapsed since this Administration came in upon a spring-tide of popularity. It is already at war with itself, yet the stream of popularity runs almost as strongly in its favor as ever.

22d. The Telegraph contains a letter from J. Forsyth to the editor, then a letter from Forsyth to James A. Hamilton of 8th February, 1828, and, lastly, the letter from Crawford to Calhoun

of 2d October, 1830, which Mr. Calhoun did not communicate to me; a letter in which Crawford pours out all his gall, sometimes with much address, at others with not less indiscretion—occasionally with acute reasoning, and then again with broad absurdity. His thrusts at Calhoun are deep and deadly, and many of them vulgarly abusive, while he disclaims all resentment. In all this correspondence Van Buren is not seen; but James A. Hamilton, intimately connected with him, is a busy intermeddler throughout. In April, 1827, Van Buren and Cambreleng made a visit to Crawford, when he authorized them to announce him on all occasions as in favor of Jackson's election against me. In December, 1827, he answers a letter of instigation from Alfred Balch, at Nashville; declines making a public declaration of his opinions and intrigues against Calhoun, intimating that Calhoun's caucus friends at Columbia were enemies to Jackson, and that he ought to know it. His own interposition to inform Jackson that Calhoun had been against him at the Cabinet meetings on the Seminole War was gradually brought about. He first communicates it to Forsyth, and Forsyth to James A. Hamilton; then somebody—a black mask—informs Jackson that he has a written statement from Crawford of the whole affair. Jackson's jealousy and curiosity are aroused; he asks Hamilton if he has this statement. Hamilton affects mystery and modesty. Yes, he has the statement, but cannot communicate it without Crawford's consent. So Hamilton applies to Forsyth, and he to Crawford, who gives a new edition of his story, revised and corrected, authorizing Forsyth to communicate it—to whom? to Jackson, for whom it had been requested? Not at all; but to Calhoun. And Forsyth, instead of communicating it to Calhoun, as so authorized, carries it directly to Jackson, whom, as had been well foreseen, it flings into a fury, and he sits down and writes a letter to Calhoun demanding explanations, and encloses, not the original of Crawford's letter, but a copy, suppressing the name of James A. Hamilton. Mr. Forsyth says it was merely out of delicacy to him. But why that delicacy, unless there was a consciousness that the personage he was performing was not suited to the character of an honest man? Mr. Crawford

in this letter does give extracts from mine to him, and does suppress those parts of it which operated against himself. He speaks of me frequently, sometimes as if disposed to do me justice, sometimes without either delicacy or truth. He says, among other things, that the letter which he wrote me last summer is the only one which he has written me since he left Washington in 1825—which is a mistake. The severest cut which he gives to Calhoun is upon his countenancing the nullification doctrines. He appears to have discovered that these are losing popularity. Duff Green, the editor of the Telegraph, has published this letter, with notes refutatory as he goes along.

23d. I composed one stanza of the paraphrase of the 149th Psalm, a task which is not very difficult. Perhaps I could thus paraphrase the whole book of Psalms; but to what good purpose? The spinning out of rhymes is but laborious idleness. I began this morning a poem of another character, the conception of which is amusing, but requiring more continuity of purpose, more poetical imagination, and more command of language and power of harmony than belong to me.

24th. Morning visits from Mr. Lawrence, late Chargé d'Affaires in England, and from Mr. Granger, late the Anti-Masonic candidate for the office of Governor of New York. Mr. Lawrence spoke of the recent negotiations for trade with the British West India Colonies, and told me that he was writing an article for Walsh's Review upon the President's message. He said Mr. Gallatin told him that if he had hinted to the Canning Ministry that their course concerning the Colonial trade would promote the election of Jackson, they would have given up the point then. But Gallatin said he did not think it justifiable to refer in negotiation to the state of our internal politics, and disapproved of it in Mr. Van Buren and Mr. McLane now. Granger has been here some time. His election as Governor of New York failed by a combination of the Masonic party supporting Mr. Clay with the party of Van Buren.

Accounts from Europe were this day received by the arrival at New York of vessels from Liverpool; dates from London to

the 17th of January; a paragraph of 9th January, stating that the decision of the King of the Netherlands upon the question of our Eastern boundary had been communicated on that day to Sir Charles Bagot and Mr. Preble, the Ministers of the parties at the Hague. Mr. Sprague spoke also of the speeches of Mr. Tazewell and Mr. Tyler, the two Senators from Virginia, against the appropriation to compensate the negotiators of the recent Turkish Treaty, although the treaty itself has been ratified.

This incident follows so close upon the pamphlet of Calhoun, that the political speculators believe that there is some sympathetic connection between them. Daily hostilities are passing between the Telegraph and Globe.

25th. Mr. Calhoun publishes in the Telegraph this day a supplement to his pamphlet, with an address to General Green, the editor. He gives his correspondence with James A. Hamilton in February, 1828, and charges Hamilton with having acted a very dishonorable part. An editorial article brings the charge directly home to the Secretary of State. Of these personal altercations between persons in the highest stations of our Government there have been many since its establishment, but none have proceeded to such extremes. Crawford and Calhoun charge each other with direct falsehood. Jackson charges Calhoun with duplicity. Calhoun charges Van Buren by implication with plotting his destruction; and now he names Hamilton as an underling, insidiously approaching him to draw from him some unguarded expression which might betray him. Perhaps one of the most remarkable aspects in which the whole affair presents itself is the adhesive tenacity of such a gang to each other for the purpose of effecting my destruction. Every one of the principals in this controversy—Jackson, Calhoun, Van Buren, Crawford—was under personal obligations to me. Every one of them was indebted to me for acts of kindness and favor. Never was political hatred more bitter than that which prevailed between Crawford and Calhoun and their respective partisans. They united in heart and soul against me. They succeeded to their hearts' content. They divided the spoil. And now Crawford and Calhoun are snarling and biting for the

Vice-Presidency like two famished wolves for the carcass of a sheep.

Huntt told us of a conversation he had the day before yesterday with A. Stevenson, Speaker of the House. He adheres to Jackson, Crawford, and Van Buren, and says Crawford will come out of this furnace pure as the driven snow. But Huntt says that of the whole Virginia delegation in Congress there is but one man and a half in favor of Van Buren—Archer is the man, and A. Stevenson the half.

26th. I had visits in the morning from Mr. Middleton, recently returned from his mission of ten years in Russia, and in the evening from Mr. Lawrence. Mr. Middleton was recalled last summer, and John Randolph of Roanoke was appointed in his place. Randolph, who turns his diseases to commodity, stipulated before he went that if his health should require it he should have permission to pass the winter in a more genial climate; went to Russia in a frigate, behaved for a few weeks at St. Petersburg like a crazy man, then sent home a servant with his baggage, and went to spend his winter in London, where he is figuring in speeches at the turtle-feasts of the Lord Mayor, and he is now announced as a candidate in his district for election to the next Congress, where there is no doubt he will be chosen; for the people of his district are as much enamored with him as the Queen of the Fairies was with the ass's head of Bottom after the drop of juice from love-in-idleness had been squeezed upon her eyelids in her sleep. Mr. Middleton told me numerous anecdotes of his eccentricities at St. Petersburg.

We had also some conversation upon the present condition of Russia, and upon the state of politics here, upon which he said he found himself in a strange country—so changed is everything in the course of ten years.

Mr. Lawrence had been attending on the debates in the House of Representatives and Senate. Tazewell and Tyler, the Senators from Virginia, with the aid of Kane, of Illinois, and of Webster, have reduced the appropriation from seventy-four thousand dollars down to thirty-seven thousand; substituted a Chargé d'Affaires to be sent to Constantinople instead of a Minister Plenipotentiary; and introduced in the General Appro-

priation bill a proviso that nothing therein contained is to be construed as an approbation of the President's appointment, during the recess, of the negotiators of the Turkish Treaty, and not submitting the nomination to the Senate; and this is to be sent in the General Appropriation bill to the President to approve, and thereby to sanction a censure upon himself as for a violation of the Constitution. The blow is against me, as well as against Jackson, and it is struck by those who were my friends, putting themselves under the lead of Tazewell, one of the bitterest enemies I have in the world.

Lawrence said it was understood the proviso would be carried by a majority of thirty in the House of Representatives, all the friends of the last Administration being to join the deserters from the Administration ranks.

I told Lawrence that I did not know what Jackson would do with the bill, but that if such an one had been presented to me at the last quarter of an hour of an expiring Congress, I would have sent it back with my reasons, and refused to sign it. The explosion between the President and Vice-President is already producing combustion in both Houses of Congress. Its first manifestation is the Senate, the character of which body has uniformly vibrated between servility and faction; which has now had for two years a paroxysm of servility, and is glad to get back to its more self-complacent attitude of factious dictation to the President.

Mr. Van Buren publishes in the Telegraph of this morning a positive denial that he has had any concern in the plots and conspiracies of which Vice-President Calhoun complains; and particularly, that he had even any knowledge of James A. Hamilton's correspondence with Forsyth and with Calhoun which is before the public. The editor of the Telegraph publishes Van Buren's note, and meets it with a contradiction, equivalent to the lie direct.

27th. I called upon Mr. White, of Florida, with whom I found Judge Breckenridge and Pleasants, the editor of the Richmond Whig. Mr. White told me he should publish his letter against the report of the Secretary of the Navy on the live-oak plantations, and asked my permission to publish with

it my letter in answer to his enquiries; which I freely gave, and said that the more extensively it should be known that my opinions were those expressed in that letter, the more agreeable it would be to me.

I had asked Pearce to come some time before the hour of dinner, which was four. He came at three, and I gave him my opinion and feelings respecting the proviso attached in the Senate to the General Appropriation bill, which I thought not only ungracious and insulting to me, but in the highest degree pernicious as a precedent. Mr. Bailey remained with me, after the rest of the company were gone, till near eleven this evening, and I made the same statement to him, requesting him to communicate my sentiments to J. W. Taylor, E. Everett, and any other of my personal friends, as he should think proper; which he promised to do. The New York American which came this day had extracted from the Evening Post a publication by James A. Hamilton, to vindicate himself from the imputation against him in Mr. Calhoun's late pamphlet.

March 1st. Morning visit from H. Niles, editor of the Baltimore Register, with whom I had much conversation. He said he should publish all the papers of this new Jackson and Calhoun controversy in his paper; and I told him I should perhaps address to him a statement of my own upon the subject for publication. I said that in the progress of the controversy both Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Crawford had introduced my name without delicacy or reserve, and with unfounded and unjust imputations; but, as these were merely personal, I had not thought and should not think proper to come before the public in my own vindication. I believed my character would not gain so much by the explanation which would refute the insinuations against me as it would lose by an appearance of readiness to obtrude myself upon the notice of the public in the midst of this *bagarre;* but circumstances might arise under which I should deem it necessary to lay before the public the grounds and principles upon which I had defended the conduct of General Jackson in taking the Spanish forts of St. Mark's and Pensacola. I told Mr. Niles what these principles were, observing that they never had been laid before the

public; my correspondence with the Spanish Minister, Onis, and my letter of instructions to G. W. Erving, having discussed the question only in its foreign aspect, as bearing upon our relations with Spain, and not in its connection with our own Constitution. I asked Niles also to publish the recent vindication of James A. Bayard by his two sons; which he promised he would.

After we had retired to bed, the Globe of to-morrow morning was brought, in which were several publications relating to the controversy between President Jackson and Vice-President Calhoun; and among the rest a statement, not from the President, but in his behalf, accounting for the enquiries of Mr. James A. Hamilton. It brings in, somewhat equivocally, a statement of the correspondence which took place four years since between General Jackson and Mr. Southard, of which it presents a gross misrepresentation, and tells of H. L. White's toast and speech on the 8th of January, 1828, and of his subsequent correspondence concerning it with Mr. Monroe. It connects all these transactions with Hamilton's inquisitions, and presents the hero prying into the privacies of a dinner-table as eagerly as into the antiquated and violated confidence of Mr. Monroe's Cabinet.

2d. Morning visit from Mr. Williams, of North Carolina, who introduced me to his friend Manning, from Tennessee; also from Dr. Kent, the former Governor of Maryland, and member of Congress, and afterwards from Mr. Calhoun, the Vice-President. This is the first time he has called upon me since the last Administration closed. He said something about political considerations, as he had done in one of his letters, to which I made no reply then or now. Explanation can do nothing. I meet Mr. Calhoun's advances to a renewal of the intercourse of common civility because I cannot reject them. But I once had confidence in the qualities of his heart. It is not totally destroyed, but so impaired that it can never be fully restored. Mr. Calhoun's friendships and enmities are regulated exclusively by his interests. His opinions are the sport of every popular blast, and his career as a statesman has been marked by a series of the most flagrant inconsistencies. Crawford is more

desperately reckless in his changes, and capable of more wilful perfidy. Calhoun veers round in his politics, to be always before the wind, and makes his intellect the pander to his will. Crawford makes his memory tributary to the course of events, and, like one who "having unto truth by telling of it made such a sinner of his memory to credit his own lie," begins by deceiving himself. Calhoun said much of him this day. I mentioned the statement in the Globe of this morning, that the confidential letter of Mr. Monroe to Mr. Calhoun of 9th September, 1818, and a copy of it, were put into General Jackson's possession by persons in the confidence of Calhoun, and, as Jackson supposed, with his assent. He said it was entirely without foundation; that he knew not by whom it had been taken from his files, nor who had given it to Jackson. I conversed freely with Mr. Calhoun upon the transactions in the Cabinet of Mr. Monroe. He said that his intimation to Mr. Monroe of the expediency of his making an explanation to General Jackson concerning his letter of 6th January, 1818, which he did by the letter of 22d December, 1818, was given shortly before, and certainly not immediately after, the arrival of Hambly. He said, too, that his remark in the Cabinet meeting in reply to my argument that Jackson's taking the Spanish forts had been defensive, to meet the threats of Masot —namely, that Jackson had determined to take the province before—was not with allusion to the letter of 6th January, 1818, but to a rumor that Jackson had been personally interested in a previous land speculation at Pensacola.

I requested Mr. Peters to make a written statement, in the form of a letter to me, of what had been said to him by Mr. Maxcy, on the part of Mr. Calhoun, to be communicated to me, of what he had said to me, of what I had answered him, and of what he had reported to Mr. Maxcy. He promised that he would, and said he intended to have proposed it to me; but he wished, in consideration of the present situation of Mr. Maxcy, to keep his name uncommitted; to which I readily agreed.

3d. Mr. M. L. Davis called, and spent about two hours with me in conversation upon politics—entirely personal politics.

He has been here during the whole session of Congress, and says that he has often been in direct communication with Calhoun; says he told him he was the strong man of the South, and expected to obtain the votes of all the Southern States except Georgia. Davis understood him that he intended to be a candidate against Jackson at the approaching election—a purpose which it may be his policy to announce, as the supporters of Jackson will not support him on their ticket for the Vice-Presidency. Davis says he told Calhoun he was opposed to him, and should oppose him, and that he must be careful to say nothing to him of a confidential nature, because he might have occasion to use what he should say, and should feel himself entirely at liberty to say it; that Calhoun told him he had no desire to interfere with his views, but only asked for fair play in public and if the election should come to the House of Representatives.

I asked him if the Jackson party proposed to elect Mr. Crawford Vice-President. He said, no: that Mr. Van Buren was not for him, nor Mr. Forsyth, but Mr. Troup was. As to Forsyth's disposition, he had but recently ascertained it, having firmly believed till lately that he was for him; but now he knew he was not. I asked him what Granger was here for. He said, to be out of the way from home, that he might not be elected a delegate to the National Anti-Masonic meeting at Baltimore next September; that Granger was weary of his position as the head of the Anti-Masonic party, and wanted to withdraw from it. He said he was himself a Mason, and was willing to let the Anti-Masons have their Governor and State Legislature, upon condition that they should yield the Electoral ticket; that could not be conceded to them. He expected this arrangement would ultimately take effect. He further said that Mr. Sanford might possibly be run for Governor, and that Mr. Marcy, who is to come to the Senate in his place, would take an independent stand, and in no wise make himself subservient to Mr. Van Buren. He said he had long known Mr. Marcy intimately; that he was son-in-law to Benjamin Knower, a man of great wealth and shrewd intelligence, who dissuaded him from running as Governor, that he might not be too much

under the operation of Mr. Van Buren's influence, and who would not be willing that he should be so now.

Congress passed last evening a bill making a new grant of twenty-nine or thirty thousand dollars to Mr. Monroe. Davis says Mr. Clayton, of Delaware, was the Senator by whose means it was called up out of turn and passed, though it was Mr. Hayne who made the motion. The offensive proviso to the General Appropriation bill was struck out.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE TWENTY-SECOND CONGRESS.

March 4th, 1831.—On this day the writer must be regarded as commencing a new term of official service, although he did not enter upon the duties until the ensuing month of December. This term embraces the sixteen remaining years of his life.

March 4th. Judge Cranch called upon me, and said that the Columbian Institute had requested its members to prepare papers to be read at its weekly meetings next winter, and Mr. Dickins had desired him to enquire of me whether I should be willing, if requested by the Society, to deliver the next anniversary address.

I said I had two answers to give him—one for Mr. Dickins and the Society, the other for himself. The first was the same I had given last year to Mr. Dickins, when urged to accept the re-election of the Society as their President: that the circumstances in which I am situated had brought me to the determination to live in retirement. I frequented no society; I entertained no company at home. I had thus passed already two winters, and intended to pass in the same manner the next. It was true the people of my district in Massachusetts had thought proper to assign to me a seat in the House of Representatives in Congress, which it was my present intention to take; but the discharge of my duties in that station will be my only motive for appearing in public more than I have done for the last two years. In other respects I shall continue to live in retirement, and do not propose to attend the meetings of the Columbian Institute; though I shall never cease to be grateful for the favors bestowed upon me by them.

The other reason, solely for himself, was that there are now

several members of the Institute with whom I can take no pleasure in associating; and one with whom I will never voluntarily associate anywhere. I refused to take his hand, which he had the impudence to offer me, last winter at the Capitol, when Mr. Everett delivered his address to the Columbian Institute, and never will take his hand again, unless he should make me an apology and reparation for the wilful falsehoods he has circulated, both in Congress and before the public, to ruin my character.

There was yet one other reason for me to decline delivering an address. It was impossible for me to open my lips or write a sentence before the public but there were liars in wait—to catch, to garble, to misrepresent, to falsify what I say. They had raked up every vote I ever gave in the Senate, from twenty-five to thirty years ago, to belie their purposes and my motives. They had ransacked my Lectures upon Rhetoric to distort and misrepresent them. They had rifled my Silesian Letters to abuse me for scandal upon Archbishop Carroll, because I had spoken irreverently of Jesuits and spurious relics. With all this experience, it was warning enough to me for keeping silence, unless every word I should utter were a two-edged sword.

Mr. Cranch said he believed there never had been a man so scandalously used as I had been in this respect; but he believed the time for that had now passed. However, with my present determination, he would see that no proposal should be made to me by the Institute to deliver the address.

I returned this morning the Vice-President's visit, but he was not at his lodgings.

5th. Walking round the Capitol Square this morning, I met Mr. Letcher, of Kentucky, who was going, he said, within an hour, to Baltimore, on his return home. He took leave of me. He is not to come to the next Congress, having pledged himself at his last election not to be a candidate again. Letcher is a man of moderate talents, good temper, playful wit, and shrewd sagacity. He will be a loss to the House, for he laughs at everything; often in the heat of angry and fierce debate he throws in a joke, which turns it all to good humor. He is one

of Mr. Clay's most intimate and devoted friends, and was the person who informed me, on the 1st of January, 1825, that two-thirds of the Kentucky delegation in the House of Representatives had determined to vote for me—a week before I had any conversation with Clay upon the subject.

Dr. Huntt called, and talked politics, instead of prescribing potions, for half an hour. Huntt thinks that Jackson's party is broken up.

John W. Taylor paid me a morning visit—quite unwell with a hoarse cold and cough. He thinks the anonymous address to the people of the United States published this morning, both in the National Intelligencer and Journal, was written by Mr. Webster. They have had, all the session, weekly opposition meetings at Taylor's lodgings—Taylor himself Chairman. He some weeks since appointed Webster and Everett a writing committee, and Webster a few days ago told him that he had written a page or two and torn it up. He finds himself hard to please. The paper is short, so that it may be transferred into the opposition papers all over the country. Taylor said Matthew L. Davis had told him that Calhoun would certainly be a candidate for the Presidency against Jackson. He asked my opinion, and I thought he would not. I asked his, and he said he had no fixed opinion about it, but he thinks the Anti-Masons will finally settle down for Clay.

6th. I called upon Mr. Peters, with whom I found Mr. Henderson, of Rhode Island. Sergeant was not at his lodgings. Peters told me that he had drawn up the statement of the transaction between Mr. Maxcy and him relating to the communications between Mr. Calhoun and me. He said he had shown it to Mr. Maxcy, and was waiting only for time to make out a copy of it for me.

7th. Long morning visit from Colonel Thomas, who is to leave the city to-morrow, and returns to Maine. The King of the Netherlands has decided the question of our Northwestern boundary. The decision is not yet formally known, and the substance of it is variously represented in several paragraphs from English newspapers. The King has fixed upon a middle term between the pretensions of the two parties. The English

are dissatisfied with the decision, and say that Mr. Preble is equally so. Thomas says that Ingham, the Secretary of the Treasury, told George Evans, one of the members of the House of Representatives from Maine, that the people of that State ought to be satisfied with the decision. Thomas says that Mr. Van Buren complains bitterly of the insupportable burdens of his office. He did the same to J. Sergeant. Thomas thinks he will resign—which I think not improbable. There is not one of the great public offices but is getting into inextricable confusion, by the mere incompetency of the heads of Department who occupy them. The General Post Office, being the most complicated of them all, and the most easily disordered, has already fallen into the most disgrace, even to grave imputations of fraud and forgery, disclosed almost the last day of the late session of Congress.

Mrs. Stewart sent me a note requesting to see me, and I called upon her. She spoke of the biography of her brother, which she wished to be written like a recently published Life of Bishop Heber, or like President Quincy's Memoir of the life of his father, with many of his letters interspersed throughout the book. She wished particularly that his public official correspondence might be introduced; but there are no copies of it among the papers which were sent to me. They could be obtained only by applying at the Department of State. Mrs. Stewart said if she could have a loan of the books, she herself would make the copies. She wished also that many of his private letters should be inserted, particularly of those in which his affection for her and his good opinion of her were expressed. She wishes, in truth, a book which may contain under the shelter of his biography the lives of all the family. She read me a letter from William, about his official coat, to his brother Frederick, which she thought witty and excellent for publication. I was not exactly of the same opinion. Mrs. Stewart also gave me, and requested me to read to her, a translation in verse, by her daughter Delia, of the episode of Orpheus and Eurydice, in Virgil's Georgics; and she noted, as I read, the lines which she thought peculiarly beautiful; and her taste was good. She told me Delia was not yet fifteen.

8th. It is a doctrine of the medical faculty that bodily exercise to be salutary should be taken with a vacant mind; and such is the precept of Mr. Jefferson. By the instruction of Buchan, I have, during the greater part of my life, followed this rule, and it has saved me from the composition of "méchans vers douze fois douze cent," and ten times more. At certain seasons, however, the propensity becomes too strong for me. I walk and muse and pour forth premeditated verse, which it takes me six or nine months to lay by and resume to find it good for nothing. It never appears so to me when I compose it. In a few instances I have suffered the publication of my effusions, and I am accredited as one of the smallest poets of my country. Very short fugitive pieces and translations are the only rhymes I have ever committed to the press; one short poem, the lines to Mrs. Hellen on the death of her two children, and one translation, the thirteenth satire of Juvenal, have been favorably noticed. One satirical song, overlooked when first published, was dragged into light twenty years afterwards, for political effect against me, because it laughed at the party Lama—Jefferson. All the rest of my published poetry has passed from the press into the waters of Lethe. One of these rhyming fits is now upon me, brought on by the inflammation of my eyes, which debarred me from reading and writing and threw me back upon my own scanty resources. I write every morning one stanza of paraphrase from the Bible, and in my morning walk from two to three stanzas of a tale which I have undertaken, far beyond my depth, and which I shall obviously never get through. But so totally does it absorb my attention while engaged upon it, that in my morning walk round the Capitol Square I go out and return almost without consciousness of the passage of time—the melancholy madness of poetry, without the inspiration. I cooked up this morning one stanza before rising from bed; then, after reading three chapters of Isaiah, one stanza of paraphrase from the third chapter of Proverbs; then in my walk three stanzas more of the tale; and this evening, after dinner, severely threatened with an inflammation of my left eye, and, therefore, daring neither to read nor write, took up an ode of Horace, exquisitely beautiful, from which,

more than twenty-five years ago, I had wrung three stanzas and then given up the rest in despair. They were three of the best stanzas I ever wrote, to which I now added three of the worst. The thoughts of Horace are as unmalleable as platina.

Mr. Calhoun left cards here, T. T. L. My wife spent the evening at her brother's, and I called for her there about nine o'clock. In the interval my son John read to me the remainder of Mr. Clayton's speech upon the resolution to curtail the investigating powers of the Committee of Enquiry of the Senate upon the affairs of the Post Office, and the letter of Abraham Bradley to President Jackson of October, 1829, containing the charges and specifications against the Postmaster-General, Barry, the neglect of which by Jackson is one of the pregnant proofs of what he means by reform.

10th. In my morning walk I met Mr. Peter Hagner, and we walked together till we parted at the market. He told me he had ten children, and had never lost one; and that he always made it a practice to prevent their getting their feet wet, and to make them wear flannels. I lost one or two stanzas of Dermot by my walk with Mr. Hagner, and should, therefore, get something by way of composition. As I proceed with Dermot, the subject opens upon me, and I feel distressingly my wants. I supposed I could make out of it a tale of about fifty stanzas. I now think I cannot get through with it in less than one hundred. My style is the mock-heroic; but it wants vivacity, humor, poetical invention, and a large command of language. I want, besides, a knowledge of Ireland, physical, moral, and political; a knowledge of the manners, usages, prevailing opinions, modes of life, social habits, and dress of the twelfth century. I want a faculty of inventing and delineating character, of naturalizing familiar dialogue, and of spicing my treat with keen and cutting satire. I want the faculty of picturesque description, of penetrating into the inmost recesses of human nature, of moralizing in harmonious verse, of passing from grave to gay, from lively to severe; of touching the cords of sympathy with the tender and sublime, and to consecrate the whole by a perpetual tendency to a pure and elevated morality. I do not believe there is in human history a happier subject for

a mock-heroic poem than the conquest of Ireland by Henry the Second. But where are the legendary fables of Ireland for machinery? where the art of painting the intrigues of Dermot at the court of Henry? where the art of describing battles and sieges, the desolation of the country during the progress of the conquest, the destruction of Fernes, the capital of Leinster, the interior of the monastery where Dermot concealed himself upon his return after his expulsion? All this a true poet might point with touches of the terribly sublime. If I had undertaken it forty years ago, I might have made something of it now. At present I might as well undertake to paint a scene of the deluge upon canvas, or to compose the music of an opera, or to execute the pediment of the Capitol, which I designed.

Mr. John W. Taylor was here, and took leave of me—going in a day or two for home. I had a long conversation with him upon the aspects of political affairs, and upon the prostitution of principle, as well as the hostility to me, manifested by the party now holding up Mr. Clay as the candidate for the next Presidential election. I gave him instances and proofs, some of which were already known to him, others he had not heard of before.

11th. Stanzas as yesterday morning. Began a paraphrase of the thirteenth chapter of Isaiah. Dr. Johnson has proscribed this species of poetry; but Pope's Messiah is a perpetual refutation of this canon of criticism. Addison's version of two or three Psalms, Rousseau's sacred odes, and Watts and Doddridge and Kirke White, and many more, have shown what excellent uses may be made in modern languages of the poetry of the Scriptures.

After breakfast I went to the house of Mr. Roux de Rochelle, late the French Minister here. He was appointed shortly before the overthrow of the late French Government, and arrived here last summer. He had scarcely presented his credentials and settled down in his house when the news of the Revolution came. He submitted to the change, and presented the new credentials, which he received from Louis Philippe. But he was soon afterwards recalled, and Mr. Serrurier was appointed in his place. Serrurier is the son of one of Bonaparte's Marshals, and at the time of the first restoration of the Bour-

bons was recalled by Louis the Eighteenth from a mission here, where he had resided two or three years. He arrived here a few days since, and has already been received by the President. Mr. Roux de Rochelle delivered at the same time his letter of recall, and is now selling off his furniture at auction. Some of the citizens are about giving him a ball, on the 15th of this month, as one has been recently given to Mr. Vaughan, the British Minister, likewise on the point of his departure. Mr. Roux is a man of letters, a poet, and a lover of the fine arts. He has a valuable collection of pictures, prints, sculptures, antique, and copies from the antique, a few small Etruscan vases, lachrymatories, and other curiosities of antiquity. These are not to be sold; he takes them back to France. The house being open for the auction, I went to see the pictures. They are of the French, Italian, and Flemish schools, and of very various value. Many of them were pleasing to me, and I could have idled away three hours a day for a week before them, had it been consistent with bienséance. A Death of Abel passed for the most thrilling representation of human passions, and a herd of cows reposing on the ground, for the truest image of still life in the collection. There were Holy Families and heathen gods, Madonnas and Magdalens, infant Jesuses, fauns and satyrs, in the usual proportions. As I was ranging round the chambers, I met the Count de Menou, formerly Chargé d'Affaires from France, who has been absent all the recent winter, and who told me he was but now recovering from the hurt of a fall about six weeks since. He also invited me to view the prints and antiques in the upper chambers, and went up and called Mr. Roux himself, who came down and repeated the invitation himself. I went accordingly, and found the chambers emptied of furniture, but hung round with Volpato's engravings of Raphael's fresco-paintings on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, and many other engravings and drawings in crayons—among them portraits of several distinguished living Frenchmen—Talleyrand and Chateaubriand of the number.

Madame Roux invited me also into her chambers, where were good portraits of her husband and her son, and one, most admirably executed, of the expatriated King, Charles the Tenth.

This was obviously the royal portrait brought from France to figure in the most conspicuous place of the Minister's saloon; but Mr. Roux told me he had removed it to this recess after the change.

"Ce bon Charles dix!" said Madame Roux. "Où est-il à présent? On le dit, en Angleterre." She said no more, but evidently thought and felt much.

I changed the subject, and talked of Raphael and Michael Angelo; the Transfiguration and arabesques; the Madonna of Saint Sixtus and the Madonna of the Chair—upon all which Mr. Roux was perfectly at home. He had several real antique marble busts, a whole small antique human figure in bronze, a large, poor, half-antique marble bust of Cicero, and several copies in marble from antiques. Not to trespass on his complaisance, I took leave of him without half gratifying my curiosity, assuring him that I sincerely shared in the regrets of my fellow-citizens at the prospect of losing him.

12th. I walked to the Capitol, and heard J. Sergeant for about three hours, before the Supreme Court, upon the injunction prayed by the Cherokee nation of Indians against the State of Georgia, the Legislature of which has passed a law extending the jurisdiction of the State over them and their lands. The question is upon the jurisdiction of the Court. The Governor of Georgia was summoned to appear, but refused, and the Legislature passed resolutions denying the right of the Court to issue the summons, and declaring their *regret* that Chief-Justice Marshall had issued it. Sergeant and Wirt are now arguing the question of jurisdiction, without any counsel to oppose them; but the weight of the State will be too heavy for them. The old vice of confederacies is pressing upon us —anarchy in the members. Whenever a State does set itself in defiance against the laws or power of the Union, they are prostrated. This is what the States having Indian tribes within their limits are now doing with impunity, and all the powers of the General Government for protection of the Indians, or the execution of the treaties with them, are nullified. Mr. Sergeant's argument made it necessary for him to maintain that the Cherokee nation are a foreign State; and this is the

very point upon which the judgment of the Court may be against them. The argument was cold and dry, resting upon constructions of passages in the Constitution and precedents of authorities. There were, however, several ladies among the auditory, who sat and heard him with exemplary patience. R. Peters gave me the papers he had promised me—being a letter addressed to me containing a statement of the transaction between Mr. Calhoun and me through his recent intervention.

13th. After I returned home, Mr. Brent called. He spoke of the recent decision by the King of the Netherlands of the question of our Northeastern boundary, of which, he said, a copy had been received through Louis McLane, the Minister at London; but the original, forwarded by Mr. Preble by the way of Havre, has not yet been received. The English are, or affect to be, very much dissatisfied with this award. Preble is dissatisfied with it, and so are the people of the State of Maine. The Legislature of the State, upon hearing of it, held a secret session, the result of which is not public. Brent says that Preble, in a letter of the 7th of January, wrote to the Secretary of State that he had no reason to suspect the decision would be other than in our favor. The King's award was made on the 9th, and announced to the two Ministers on the 10th. Just so it was with McLane. Two days before the downfall of the Wellington Administration, he wrote to Van Buren that the Duke was seated firmly, beyond the power of shaking him. These dunces are not content to be silent in their ignorance, but must foretell, just in time to be contradicted by the event.

Brent said he had just told Mr. Van Buren that he thought the President ought to proceed immediately to carry the award into execution. Of this I had some doubts. The King of the Netherlands was no longer the independent sovereign that he was when selected as the umpire between the parties. He had lost more than half his kingdom, and had been placed in a state of absolute dependence upon European powers, one of which was the party against us. Besides which, it is stated that the King's award has gone beyond the bounds of the submission. That was only to designate the actual geography of the boundary described in the Treaty of Peace in 1783; but

he has made a composition between the pretensions of the British and our claims. He has departed from the surveys on both sides, and drawn an arbitrary line, which neither party can acknowledge as the boundary defined by the treaty of peace; and, as neither party can be satisfied with this, I said a further direct negotiation with Great Britain might end in a settlement of the line more satisfactory to both parties than that drawn by the award of the arbitrator.

14th. Walked to the Capitol again, to hear the conclusion of the argument on behalf of the Cherokee Indians by Mr. Wirt. He finished between two and three o'clock. His health is much broken down, but his voice is strong, and his manner animated beyond the condition of his strength. After finishing the argument upon the constitutional points, and chiefly on the jurisdiction of the Court, he concluded by a short appeal to the sympathies of the case, in a low tone of voice and that accent of sensibility which becomes doubly impressive by being half subdued. The deep attention of the auditory was the indelible proof of its power. His argument was little more than a repetition of what had been said by Sergeant. His pathos was his own. I met there, among other hearers, Edward Livingston and Mr. Branch, the Secretary of the Navy. I was not disposed to see Mr. Branch, but he came up to me and offered me his hand, which I did not think it necessary to refuse.

15th. Returned again to my composition of five stanzas of Dermot, and one of paraphrase, before breakfast in the morning. The paraphrase is too easy and flat; the Dermot too difficult and dull. The stanzas of this morning were far inferior to those of yesterday, though more inventive. Invention is precisely the portion of poetical composition that I never before attempted to any considerable extent, and in which I now find myself sailing without chart or compass. It wears out my powers of application, and oppresses my consciousness with the continual thought of having undertaken more than I can perform.

"Craignez d'un vain plaisir les trompeuses amorces."

16th. I called and paid a visit to Mr. Vaughan, the British Minister, and had a desultory conversation with him of about

two hours. He is suffering severely with the rheumatism, and much affected in spirits by the state of affairs in Europe, and particularly in his own country. He told me of his intercourse with Dr. Parr at Oxford, and of his aggregation to the celebrated Literary Club in London. He does not, however, profess to be a literary man, though educated at Oxford. He spoke in terms of high respect of Earl Grey, the head of the present Ministry, but dreads the effect of the democratic movements for Parliamentary reform.

The eight-lined stanza of the Italian poets, or ottava rima, with triple alternate lines, and a couplet, has been, I think, introduced into English poetry by Lord Byron, and the poems he has published in that stanza are to me by far the most pleasing that he has written. I am using it for Dermot, and, finding the versification too easy, I took up this day his Beppo, the first poem in which he used this stanza, to examine wherein the secret of its difficulty lies. There is every appearance that to him it was easier than prose. The familiarity of the language fits it for comic humor and facetious dialogue. The stanza makes it epigrammatic. This is the character of all composition in stanzas. Serious or gay, they should all end in a point. There is a sprightliness about the stanzas of Byron which cannot be imitated precisely because it is original. The unexpected and lively turns of thought, with the extravagant and highly diversified combinations of rhyme, give it an irresistible charm, while the "ton grivois" and satirical shrewdness possess a power which can never be exercised by the loftier elevation of heroic poetry. The unapproachable difference between Beppo and Dermot is the difference between Tokay and small beer. Flashes of high poetical imagery gleam in every line of Beppo. The thoughts in Dermot are more prosaic than the verse. One of the advantages of this stanza is, that it admits of transitions between the very highest and lowest flights of poetical composition. It would suit equally the storm, or the episode of Orpheus and Eurydice in the Georgics, the lines upon Marcellus in the Eneid, and the squabbles of the shepherds in the Bucolics. Virgil gives all these alike in hexameters. But Ovid's Elegiacs and Horace's Lyrics sufficiently prove

the power of diversified measures in the Latin language; and if Pope had familiarized himself with the ottava rima, and practised it, we should have seen it in much higher perfection than in Byron.

17th. My occupation of idleness encroaches upon the slumbers of the night. A pressure of uneasiness at the failure of invention waked me between two and three this morning. From that time till five I lay and composed five stanzas of digression; then rose; wrote one stanza of paraphrase from Isaiah; walked round the Capitol Square, and in that walk composed six stanzas more of Dermot—one or two of them among the best yet written—two, upon the national character of the Irish, specially suited to the day. There came a gust of wind in the morning, which was followed by a strong gale from the northwest, and a sharp frost even at mid-day. There was no temptation to leave the house. I wrote a short letter to my son Charles, and finding, after the lighting of my evening lamp, that I could not prudently read or write, I composed a couple of stanzas from fancy—taking a hint from the song in Marmontel's opera of "L'Ami de la Maison," "Rien ne plaît tant aux yeux des belles," to which I added a stanza not very congenial with it. The thought occurred to me of introducing somewhere in the story of Dermot an Irish banquet, with a harper, and to make him sing these stanzas for a song. But my poem has already grown to terrific length, and I feel much as I did when swamped in the middle of the Potomac River, clogged with half my clothing, and having to reach the shore by swimming. This solicitude is absurd, since, after all, I have but to consider my poetical inspirations as waste paper. But if I should ever finish this tale, the temptation to communicate it, at least in manuscript, to some of my friends, will be irresistible, and that of attempting something else perhaps not less; and, considering that I have this day composed and written upwards of one hundred lines of rhymes, the facilities before me are even more alarming than the difficulties.

20th. Finished the paraphrase of the thirteenth chapter of Isaiah. The twelfth is the song of triumph for Zion; the thirteenth is the burden of Babylon. I have gone through them

both; and it were an easy task to go through the whole book in the same manner; but it would be a waste of time. I shall perhaps try my hand at a few more of the Psalms. Pope, in his Messiah, selected here and there a single verse from different chapters of the book and brought them together. Pope had an inimitable faculty of expressing thoughts of others, and of selecting those most worthy of being expressed. Watts in his paraphrases is exceedingly unequal, some of them being admirable, and some worse than indifferent. I am weary of doing over again that which has been already well done by others; but I go on by a natural vis inertiæ, wanting energy to stop. I made out with difficulty the five daily stanzas of Dermot.

I went to the Presbyterian Church to hear Mr. Smith, but his place was supplied by one of the persons who officiated at his ordination. His text was from Luke xv. 17: "And when he came to himself, he said, How many hired servants of my father's have bread enough and to spare, and I perish with hunger!" A commonplace of Calvinism. The argument was, that all unregenerate sinners were insane or beside themselves, and that conversion was nothing more than a return to reason, or coming to themselves. In the common affairs of the world, an eloquent exhortation to the insane to come to himself would sooner send the preacher to Bedlam than release his hearer from it; but this is orthodox Calvinism, and our pulpit orator urged us all, with great and anxious earnestness, to come to ourselves.

22d. I walked this morning to the race-ground, musing Dermot as I went and came. I read Lord Byron's Vision of Judgment, to examine further his use of this measure. He began with it first in Beppo, and, after once adopting, evidently took a partiality for it, as is proved by Don Juan, the Vision of Judgment, and the translation of the first canto of the Morgante Maggiore of Pulci. It is the most delightful of all measures for the mock-heroic, or for any gay or lively narrative. Butler's Hudibras, or Pope's Rape of the Lock, would have been exceedingly improved by it. But it requires a continual coruscation of thought and perpetual repetition of antithesis. Almost every stanza in Byron is an epigram; and it is very much so in Ariosto, and in Wieland's Oberon. With a greatly

increased power of poetical inversion, with the freest use of prosaic and colloquial language, and with rhymes of double and treble terminations, and a prodigal use of the cæsura, this species of verse is scarcely more difficult to write than prose. But Byron, as he became familiar with the staff, indulged himself more and more with all its licenses, till his verse almost dissolved into prose. There is much more musical harmony in the composition of Beppo than in that of the Vision of Judgment, and much more in the early than in the later cantos of Don Juan.

23d. Edward Wyer was here this morning, and brought with him a number of Globe and Telegraph newspapers. They are carrying on a small and peevish war against each other. Wyer told me some anecdotes of Mr. Calhoun, of whom he has become not absolutely a partisan, but a well-wisher. He is in correspondence with him. I received a letter from Mr. Crawford authorizing me to furnish Mr. Calhoun with a copy of his (Crawford's) letter to me of 5th July, 1830, and asking one for himself.

25th. There has been a sudden change in two or three days from a thermometer at the temperature of twenty to midsummer heat. It gave me a bad night's rest, and so relaxes the sinews that versification becomes more difficult. Milton found that a cold climate "damp'd his intended wing depressed"—for which Dr. Johnson laughs at him. A sultry southwester at Washington certainly depresses my powers of composition, both in prose and verse. My time was absorbed nearly the whole day and evening in composing, copying, and revising, or in reading Leland's History of the period and personages which I am using as subjects of my tale. I read also a few pages of Bernard Whitman's Letters, and a few stanzas of Byron's Morgante Maggiore. This is amusing enough to make me regret that he did not go through the whole book. That school of Italian poets has been little known to English readers till very lately. They are the greatest masters of the humorous and burlesque; but it is not made for me. I began my poem with the intention of making it comical, but as it advances it has made me serious even to sadness. The action and the actors are too

detestable for ridicule, and although I have about me a large spice of biting satire, my natural sliding is into gravity, so that all my attempts at humor evaporated in the first canto. Leland so spins out the history of Dermot, and of the acquisition of Ireland by Henry the Second, that I shall have difficulty in selecting incidents and in bringing my tale to a conclusion. Yet the whole will not be longer than one of the cantos of Don Juan, nor much longer than Beppo.

28th. A morning visit of two or three hours from Mr. Fendall. There are in the Intelligencer of this morning two articles, one extracted from the Telegraph of last Friday evening, and one from the Globe of Saturday morning. The article from the Globe contains a letter from John H. Eaton, Secretary of War. The Globe produces it as a refutation of a previous statement which had appeared in the Telegraph, which was, that previous to the publication of Mr. Calhoun's pamphlet it had been submitted to General Jackson's most intimate and confidential friend, by whom no objection had been made to its publication. Mr. Eaton's letter is no refutation of that statement, but a confirmation of it. He says that before the publication of the pamphlet Mr. Grundy informed him that it would be published, and expressed an earnest wish that there might be nothing in it which General Jackson would think it necessary to answer, in which Mr. Eaton concurred; that at Mr. Grundy's invitation he went to his lodgings, where Grundy read to him Mr. Calhoun's address to the people, to some passages of which he (Eaton) made objections, and proposed alterations, all of which, Grundy afterwards informed him, had been adopted; that Mr. Eaton was requested to mention to the President that the pamphlet would be published, but did not do so. It seems probable that this letter of Eaton's is published to pacify Jackson's irritation upon seeing a statement that Calhoun's pamphlet had been exhibited previous to its publication to his bosom friend without meeting any objection from him.

30th. I walked before dinner round the Capitol Square, and as I was returning was overtaken by Major Mercer, the son-in-law of Mr. Swann. Walking with me, he said he had returned last week from Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, having been there

with Mr. Goldsborough as a Commissioner from the State of Maryland upon some question concerning a road or boundary between the two States, to be settled by the Legislature. He said he had been some time at Harrisburg, and seen much of the members of the Legislature; that he had seen but one man who spoke in terms of approbation of the present Administration, and that was a Senator by the name of Krepps—the same with whom Major Donelson has had a correspondence respecting the nomination of General Jackson for re-election by the members of the Pennsylvania Legislature. This nomination was made by a meeting of more than half the members of the Legislature, although every one of them except Krepps was open-mouthed against him. He said he asked several of them why, holding and expressing such opinions, they could vote a nomination of him again. They said the people had not been disabused of their prejudice in his favor, and if they should hesitate about his re-election they would be turned out by their constituents. The United States Judge of the western district of Pennsylvania was elected to the Senate of the United States, and resigned his judicial office. A member of Congress named Irwin was appointed in his place. Great interest was made in behalf of an old federalist named James Ross, prostrated thirty years ago for federalism, then a Senator of the United States, and never since able to get into public life again. For the last seven years he has been seeking political redemption by Jacksonism. It has as yet profited him nothing. A deputation was sent hither from Harrisburg to plead in his behalf. Jackson told them that Ross was undoubtedly the man best qualified for the office in Pennsylvania, but that he could not encounter, by nominating him, the prejudices of the great Democratic party. He was reminded of his letter to Mr. Monroe, but without avail.

Day. While the inspiration is upon me (of ale or viler liquors), the whole course of my time has taken a new and peculiar turn. It commenced early in February, first occasioned by the inflammation of my eye, which disqualified me for writing or reading, and confined me at the same time to the house. From the middle of that month, I have composed every

morning one stanza of paraphrase from the Psalms, or other Scriptural books, at the time when immediately after rising in the morning I read three chapters of the Bible. On the 23d of February I began the tale of Dermot, expecting to finish it, if ever, in about fifty stanzas. I have already written nearly two hundred, and shall not get through with less than fifty more. I usually compose one, sometimes two, occasionally three, before rising, between three and five o'clock, and usually from three to five in my walk round the Capitol Square. These stanzas I retain in memory, and write down after returning home, sometimes before, sometimes after, breakfast. It very seldom happens that, after arranging a stanza while I am walking, I forget part of the composition before committing it to writing, and then I am obliged to supply its place. Both the original and the substitute are then among the worst stanzas of my poem. I never forget a stanza, or a line, which my self-complacency whispers to me to be worth remembering. The rhyme is sometimes an excruciating task. I read every day to my wife what I have composed in the twenty-four hours. She objected decidedly to the thirtieth stanza of the second canto, and, coming this day to the fair copy of it, I added two new ones, to take off in part the force of the objection. I could not omit the stanza without some substitution, or leaving the action of the fable imperfect in one of its most important points. In the evening I sometimes compose one, two, or three stanzas more, and my reading, independent of the newspapers, is now chiefly confined to Irish history, or to Lord Byron's poems in the ottava rima, a measure which he adopted not till after he had become familiar with the Italian poets, but which, after he had adopted it, evidently became his favorite, and is to me the only pleasing part of his works. There is a vivacity, variety, and brilliancy in his use of the stanza well suited to keep my poem at least nine years in my desk. He took from the poets of Ariosto's school that tone of irony, or *persiflage*, which constitutes the principal charm of all those writers, and is that of Voltaire. This I take up occasionally, but have found it impossible to preserve consistently; yet I am well aware that it is the soul of this species of composition.

April 3d. At the Presbyterian Church heard Mr. Smith from Hebrews vii. 26: "For such an high priest became us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens." A communion discourse upon the atonement, and far less pleasing to me than the last I had heard from the same person. Solemn nonsense and inconceivable absurdity. This is the impression which I never can remove from my mind when I hear a Calvinistic preacher hammering upon that everlasting anvil of the atonement. "Incredulus odi"—I disbelieve and I hate. It is always to me an admonition of the weakness of the human intellect. That the execution, as a malefactor, of one person, the Creator of all worlds, eighteen hundred years ago, should have redeemed me, born nearly eighteen centuries after his death, from eternal damnation, is not only too shocking for my belief, but I ask myself what there can be above the level of the beasts which perish in the animated being that can believe it. A melancholy monument of mental aberration and impotence. Mr. Smith's administration of the communion was nevertheless solemn and impressive. Members of other churches were, as usual, invited, but I did not partake; not from any scruple of my own, but because, disbelieving their creed, sharing the communion with them might seem to them either a profession of their faith or an intrusion upon their solemnities.

4th. I read about half the second canto of Don Juan. The description of the shipwreck is terrific. There is in this writer a profusion of thought beyond every other with whom I ever met. All his descriptions are minute, much more so than that of any Flemish painter. And he is equally remarkable in catching the picturesque of natural scenery, of human passion, and of sentiment. There is not a nerve, a sinew, a capillary tube in the human frame but he will turn it into a stanza. And there is a perpetual coruscation of brilliant wit running through the whole. His descriptions of sexual sensuality are those of a man meditating upon his own excesses, and supplying, so far as he can, by speculation, the place of pleasures he can no longer enjoy. The imagination of a eunuch dwells more and longer upon the material of love than that of man or woman.

It is such a mind too, beatified by the same cause, which could alone give such a description as he does of the shipwreck. Animal life and death is all that he sees or feels. He has no sentiment but sensuality.

13th. Rodgers told me that he had been repeatedly upon the point of resigning his commission, so miserably conducted was the administration of the Navy Department. He assured me that the Secretary had actually resolved to send a frigate into the Pacific Ocean, to pass Cape Horn in the month of June for the benefit of a summer passage; and that he gravely asked an officer of the navy on what part of the coast of South America the island of Barbadoes was situated. The dismission of Bainbridge from the command of the navy-yard at Philadelphia was for writing a letter considered as disrespectful to Amos Kendall, the Fourth Auditor; but the measure is now regretted, because it is found to be unpopular. A public dinner is to be given to Bainbridge at Philadelphia to-morrow.

15th. Began the versification of the 15th Psalm, and continued the translation in stanzas of Ovid's Epistle from Phyllis to Demophoon. It is clear that the same measure is not suited to this and to the Epistle from Penelope to Ulysses. Anxious, tender, faithful, conjugal affection, full of innocence and naïveté, is the character of one; burning passion, disappointment, shame, and despair, of the other. The stanza might perhaps render both. The anapæstic verse could not express the violent and tragical passions of Phyllis. I find the stanza quite unmanageable in this translation, and it wears out my patience. I read stanzas of Don Juan, couplets of Pope's Odyssey, and, this evening, several pages of the Tale of Romeus and Juliet, from which Shakspeare borrowed his tragedy. This poem is nearly as long as the tragedy, and is written in the iambic verse of twelve and fourteen syllables to a line, intermingled irregularly with each other.

16th. I finished this morning the fair copy of my poem of Dermot MacMorrogh, and have now the measure of my own poetical power. Beyond this I shall never attain; and now it is an important question whether I should throw this, and almost all the other verses I have ever written, into the fire. Hitherto

I have confined myself to translations and fugitive pieces of a very few lines or stanzas—a small portion of which have been published in newspapers and magazines. I have now completed an historical tale of upwards of two thousand lines; the subject of my own selection; the moral clear and palpable; the characters and incidents strictly historical; the story complete and entire. It has amused and occupied two months of my life, and leaves me now, like a pleasant dream, to dull and distressing realities, to a sense of wasted time, and to the humiliation of enterprise ashamed of performance; yet, at the same time, with an insatiate thirst for undertaking again higher and better things.

17th. A beautiful, spring-like day. I attended the morning service at the Presbyterian Church, and heard Mr. Smith from Proverbs iii. 31: "Envy thou not the oppressor, and choose none of his ways." Mr. Smith's creed may, and I suppose must, be Calvinistic. But that is not the character of his mind. This discourse was chiefly upon the force of example, and his treatment of his subject was original. There is nothing of commonplace about him. His sermon was a short and sensible moral treatise; argumentative and earnest, without a word upon election, reprobation, atonement, or Trinity; and asserting the liberty of religious opinions, and the adherence exclusively to the Scriptures as a rule of faith, in which the practice of all the Protestant churches, but especially the Presbyterian, is widely variant from their theories. All creeds are bundles of absurdities, and it is their absurdity alone which causes the practice of tying men's minds down to them. Rational conclusions of mind rest upon their own foundations, and need no buttress to support them; and whenever a man repeats a formulary of his belief, it must be taken as an act not of his judgment, but of his will.

18th. Edward Wyer called, and showed me a letter from T. Cadwallader, of Philadelphia, declaring his present full conviction that he had been in great error in voting for, and promoting the election of, General Jackson as President of the United States, and professing to be penitent therefor. Wyer had put this letter under cover to Mr. Clarke, member of the

late Congress from Kentucky, to be shown to Mr. Clay. I asked him if he thought he should do this without Cadwallader's consent. He said, no, upon reflection, and that he would not do it. He said much of the editor of the Telegraph, Duff Green, who in two successive papers of the 14th and 15th has been giving a history of the internal convulsions of the present Administration, which he represents as having arisen from the appointment of John H. Eaton as Secretary of War, and from the influence of his domestic concerns upon the Government. Green details his own conversations with the President, with Eaton himself, and with Mr. Van Buren, in all which he appears to be a primary personage. He alludes in a manner affectedly respectful to the similarity of Jackson's own case with his wife with that of Eaton and his. Jackson lived some time in adultery with his wife, for which her prior husband obtained a regular divorce; but this was nearly forty years ago, and she had lived as Jackson's wife an inoffensive, amiable, and charitable life, and had become quite a pious old woman. In the Presidential canvass her character and history have been very freely handled, and she died in the very month of his election to the Presidency. Eaton was married to his wife about the same time; he had lived very openly with her during the life of her former husband, Timberlake, who was a purser in the Navy—who did not indeed obtain a divorce from his wife, but whose death has been generally attributed to his dishonor. Calhoun, and three members of Jackson's Administration—Ingham, Branch, and Berrien—would not permit the females of their families to associate with Eaton's wife; and even Mrs. Donelson, wife to Jackson's private Secretary, and living in the President's house, did the same. This state of things produced during the first year of the Administration scenes equally disgusting and ludicrous—Jackson having, with all the violence of his temper, taken up the cause of Eaton and his wife as his own. Green now, with all his respect for Jackson, and with equally affected veneration for Mrs. Jackson, says it was from *sympathy*, and that Van Buren became the champion and negotiator for Eaton's wife because he was a widower. He says, too, that Van Buren took this opportunity to ingratiate himself

with Eaton and his wife, and with Jackson, and to kindle Jackson's jealousies against Calhoun, by making him believe that Calhoun's moral puritanism against Eaton's wife was only a political cant of hypocrisy, to head a party against the Administration and prevent the re-election of Jackson; and hence Green deduces Van Buren's conspiracy to destroy the character of Calhoun, and his intrigues with Crawford, Forsyth, Major Lewis, Eaton's brother-in-law and Chief Clerk, and James A. Hamilton, of New York. Wyer says that a young man named McLean assists Green in writing these papers, and that he wishes to pay his respects personally to me. I told him I should be glad to see him, but that I should in two or three days leave the city. He said he would call to-morrow.

19th. Mr. Frye was here after dinner, and said he had been told that before the end of this week Mr. Van Buren, Secretary of State, and John H. Eaton, Secretary of War, would resign, and that in their places Edward Livingston would be appointed Secretary of State, and Hugh Lawson White, Secretary of War. Late in the evening Wyer came, and told me that the four heads of Departments were to resign to-morrow or the next day, and that, besides Livingston and White, Louis McLane and Levi Woodbury were to come into the Administration, as Secretaries of the Treasury and of the Navy.

20th. The Globe newspaper of this morning contains a letter from Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State, to the President, dated the 11th of this month, tendering the resignation of his office, and assigning at some length his reasons for this step; and the answer of the President, dated the 12th, accepting his resignation. The Globe further states that the Secretary of War, John H. Eaton, tendered his resignation on the 7th, which was accepted, and that Samuel D. Ingham, Secretary of the Treasury, and John Branch resigned yesterday; from which it infers that there will be a new organization of the Cabinet. The Telegraph of this evening says that Ingham and Branch resigned at the request of the President.

Wyer and Mr. Frye called here this morning, and afterwards McLean, who told me what had been hinted to me before by Wyer, and also indirectly through Mr. Frye, that Duff Green

wished to converse with me. I told Mr. McLean that I was perfectly willing to converse with Mr. Green when he should please; that I intended to leave the city and return to my residence at Quincy, and should go to-morrow, but I should probably be here again early the next autumn. I found Mr. McLean's objects were to ascertain whether Mr. Clay would certainly be nominated for the Presidency at the proposed National Republican meeting at Baltimore next December. I told him I had no doubt he would, though I knew nothing about it. Also whether I should be nominated at the Anti-Masonic Convention next September. I told him I had no communication with the Anti-Masons, and knew nothing of their intentions. He said that if Mr. Clay should be nominated, Mr. Calhoun would not be a candidate; but if he should not be, Mr. Calhoun would be a candidate, with Mr. Ingham as Vice-President; and that Mr. Clay's Western friends were very favorably disposed to Mr. Calhoun if they should find the prospects of Mr. Clay desperate. He spoke of Duff Green as being an obstinate and indiscreet man, often needing advice, and not always disposed to take it.

21st. The National Intelligencer of this morning, besides the letter of resignation of the Secretary of State, and the President's answer, contains also the letter of John H. Eaton resigning the office of Secretary of War, dated the 7th, and the answer of the 8th, accepting his resignation. The reason assigned by Van Buren for himself is, that he is, much against his own will, a candidate for the succession to the Presidency, and that a person bearing such a relation to the country cannot with propriety be a member of the Cabinet; and that he is desirous of setting an example to the country.

The reason assigned by Eaton for himself is, that he accepted his appointment much against his own will, and at the President's urgent solicitation; that the principles of the Administration being now fully settled, and before the people for their judgment, he hopes the President will indulge him in his wish to retire. The President in both instances accedes to the desire of the candidate for dismission, and there is a very sufficient dose of reciprocal compliments in all the letters. The reasons

for the resignation of the two other Secretaries are not given. The rumor is, that Berrien, the Attorney-General, has also been requested to resign, and that Barry, the Postmaster-General, offered his resignation, but was prevailed upon by the President to continue in office.

Major Poussin came in a few minutes before our departure, and read me part of a letter he had just received from General Bernard, dated 12th March, totally differing in character from the last, and full of dissatisfaction. He says that La Fayette is cajoled at the Palais Royal, and treated with undisguised contempt by the King's party elsewhere; that the policy of the present Government is to bring things back to their old condition, and that they are, in fact, no better than when under Louis the Eighteenth or Charles the Tenth. He thinks there will be a general war of all Europe against France, and for the restoration of despotism. Bernard says that his own name has been restored upon the rolls of the army, but that he will not re-enter upon the service. He will, on the contrary, hasten back to this happy country, where he has already experienced hospitality. The stage was at the door, and I had no time for conversation with Major Poussin.

PHILADELPHIA, 25th.—There is scarcely any other topic of conversation than the recent breaking up of the President's Cabinet at Washington. His correspondence with each of the ex-Secretaries on this occasion has been given one by one—each day one. Those of the Secretaries of State and of War were published before I left the city; that with Ingham on Friday, and that with Branch on Saturday. The letters to the two last were apparently written by Jackson himself; and they afford matter for much amusement. Ingham and Branch were not inclined to resign, and he was not willing to pass for having requested them to resign. He puts it upon the ground that his Cabinet proper was a unit, which had come together in great harmony, and, as two individuals of the unit had voluntarily withdrawn, he thought it necessary to reorganize the whole Cabinet. There was a caricature published here on Saturday upon this incident, called "the rats leaving a falling house." Four sleek rats, with faces of recognizable likeness to

the four Secretaries, are scampering away upon the floor. Jackson is struggling to sustain himself in a chair that is breaking under him; and his right foot is pressing upon Van Buren's tail, as if to detain him. An altar of reform is falling over, with an imp having the head of an ass, the body of a monkey, and the wings of a bat, armed with a broom. The room is hung round with papers, on each of which is inscribed "Resignation;" and the President's spitting-box and broken tobacco-pipe are on the floor. Two thousand copies of this print have been sold in Philadelphia this day. Ten thousand copies were struck off, and will all be disposed of within a fortnight. This is an indication of the estimation in which Jackson and his Administration are held. Not a human being of any party regrets the loss of the services of any of the Secretaries withdrawn.

NEW YORK, 27th.—I paid a visit to the ex-President, Monroe, at the house of his son-in-law, Samuel L. Gouverneur. He was confined to his chamber, and extremely feeble and emaciated. Congress passed at their last session an Act making a further allowance to him, for his claims, of thirty thousand dollars, which have been paid him. He has advertised for sale his estate in Loudoun County, Virginia, and proposes to go there in a few weeks; but it is doubtful whether he will ever be able to leave his chamber. Mr. Monroe is a very remarkable instance of a man whose life has been a continued series of the most extraordinary good fortune, who has never met with any known disaster, has gone through a splendid career of public service, has received more pecuniary reward from the public than any other man since the existence of the nation, and is now dying, at the age of seventy-two, in wretchedness and beggary. I sat with him perhaps half an hour. He spoke of the commotions now disturbing Europe, and of the recent quasi revolution at Washington; but his voice was so feeble that he seemed exhausted by the exertion of speaking. I did not protract my visit, and took leave of him, in all probability for the last time. On returning to my lodgings, I had a succession of visitors till dinner-time—the younger brother of G. C. Verplanck, with his sister; General Morton and his son; General and Mrs. Scott; Mr. Maury, heretofore Consul of the

United States at Liverpool, and his son, who arrived here two or three days since in the packet which sailed from Liverpool the 1st of this month; Mr. and Mrs. Parish, with Miss Payne, Edmund Blunt, and Mr. Mosquera, an exile from the republic of Colombia—of the party opposed to the late General Bolivar; Mr. Josiah Quincy, Jr., of Boston, who is here on a tour with his wife for her health; Mr. Stephen White, Oliver Wolcott. Mr. and Mrs. Charles A. Davis were here while we were out, and left cards. General Scott, before he paid his visit, sent to enquire if it would be agreeable to me to receive it, and I met his advance to reconciliation with cordiality.

I received three invitations: one from Mr. Hamblin, manager of the Bowery Theatre, to attend this evening the performance of "Richard the Third," by Booth; one from the National Academy of Design, to view their sixth annual exhibition this day, previous to its opening to the public; and one from a committee of citizens who give to-morrow a public dinner to Gulian C. Verplanck, one of the Representatives in Congress from the city of New York, for his exertions in the cause of literature, in obtaining at the last session of Congress a revision and improvement of the Law of Copyrights. I was prevented by visitors from viewing the exhibition, and declined the two other invitations. At five we walked to the bottom of Courtland Street, and embarked in the steamboat President, Captain Robert S. Bunker, and immediately left the wharf. The morning had been fine, with clear sunshine, but a chilling easterly wind. From noon it had been gradually clouding up, and threatened a northeast storm. Mrs. Adams was desirous of postponing our departure, and wished me to accept the invitation of Verplanck's dinner. But I have a strong aversion to postponements of departure, especially for appearances of weather, and never flinch from embarking when my captain is willing to go. I persisted, and we embarked. The storm came on just as we left the wharf, and by the time we came to Sands's Point, and entered Long Island Sound, it blew a heavy gale of wind.

Quincy, *May* 7th.—The morning is still absorbed in composing one stanza of versification of a Psalm; and, being now

upon the 19th, I have a peculiar ambition to do it well. If in those sacred writings it may be allowable to compare one with another, I should say this is one of the most beautiful, if not the most beautiful, of the whole collection of the Psalms. It contains two great associated ideas: first, that the firmament of heaven is a demonstration of an Omnipotent Creator; and, secondly, that His laws, statutes, and judgments are the demonstration of His moral perfection. The illustrations of these two ideas are very impressive. The personification of day and night, with the description of the sun and his daily course over the firmament, and the similitudes of the bridegroom and the strong racer, form a body of Oriental imagery of great power; while the conclusion of devout prayer for purification from open and secret sin, and for acceptance of thought and word, by the Creator of the universe, spreads over the whole Psalm an unction of tenderness and piety at once pathetic and sublime. Addison has paraphrased only the first part of the Psalm, which relates to the physical creation. Rousseau has taken the whole Psalm, and has made up from it the most beautiful of his odes. The versions of Tate and Watts are failures, though Watts has tuned it to three different measures. I am not worthy to attempt a version of it after these masters. Pope, in his serious mood, should have versified the Psalms; not, however, as he did travesty the 1st Psalm. It is said in the Biographical Dictionary that Pope's inextinguishable hatred of Blackmore originated in a remark published by Blackmore censuring him for this scandalous and most indecent parody. I read this day the remainder of the first book of Blackmore's Creation. It is only a paraphrase of the 19th Psalm, as, indeed, is the whole poem. In looking into the volumes of additions to Pope, I found a short poem of twenty-one stanzas in the regular Italian ottava rima stanza, which I thought had been first introduced into English by Lord Byron. This is by Gay, but has neither double rhymes nor the tone of serio-comic drollery which belongs to the Ariostan school.

11th. Attended the town meeting this afternoon. There were, indeed, two town meetings, and a parish meeting between them. The first was to choose a Representative in the State

Legislature—Captain John Souther was re-elected—and also to take the vote of the inhabitants upon a proposed amendment to the Constitution of the State, so that there should be only one session of the Legislature yearly, and that to commence in January. The vote of the town was forty-five for this amendment and sixty-three against it. This town meeting was over before I got to the house. A parish meeting was then held, at which various business was transacted. Noah Curtis, the former Parish Treasurer, had declined serving longer, and Lemuel Bracket, elected in his place, had also declined. There was now an election by ballot, and Lewis Bass was chosen. Upon being informed that the usual bond required was of ten thousand dollars, he also declined, and George W. Beale was chosen. The business of this meeting done, the second town meeting was held. A Moderator was chosen by nomination, and I found myself most unexpectedly called to take that place. I was so hoarse that I could scarcely speak; but I thought it would be affectation to make an excuse, and I took the place without hesitation. There were six or seven articles in the warrant for the meeting, upon all which the inhabitants acted with much harmony and prompt dispatch, and the meeting adjourned about sunset.

20th. I had received a letter from Mr. Abner Phelps, informing me that an Anti-Masonic State Convention would assemble at Faneuil Hall on the 19th and 20th inst., and inviting my attendance at the meeting. I saw no good reason for declining to go, and went in with Charles in his chaise. The Convention consisted of seventy or eighty members, from all, or most of, the counties of the State. Timothy Fuller, of Cambridge, was the President; John Bailey and Christopher Webb, the two Senators elect from the county of Norfolk, were among the members; of the rest of whom I knew only two or three persons. I found myself seated near Mr. Alden Bradford. They were calling over the roll of the members when I went in, after which two or three reports of committees were read, and several speeches made—one by Ebenezer Clough, of Boston, and one by Mr. Bailey, in defence of a report made by him, and which another member from Norfolk partially disapproved. In

the midst of the reading of a report, just before two o'clock, they adjourned, and I returned to Quincy to dine.

31st. Charles told me that a man had called upon him and wished to have a conversation with him on the subject of my correspondence with R. Rush upon Anti-Masonry. Charles is afraid of the consequences of my expressing an opinion upon the Masonic controversy, supposing it will be imputed to selfish motives. But this is the vital essence of all political collisions. No man can escape them; and a man susceptible of being intimidated by them is not fit for any useful agency in public affairs. I have for nearly five years abstained from taking part in the Masonic controversy as much as possible, but upon such questions there is a time when it becomes the duty of a good citizen to take his side. In the conflict between Freemasonry and its adversaries, I apprehend the time is approaching when my duty to my country will require a free and open avowal of my opinions; and, whatever may be the consequences, I should not flinch from it. The danger is not imaginary, nor, I hope, underrated by me. Consideration is a guardian angel.

June 2d. With Mr. Welles I had much conversation, and with Judge Hall much, upon Masonry and Anti-Masonry. Hall has all the feelings upon him of a Mason, as they are now manifesting themselves among thousands of people. He is ashamed of the institution, and yet has a deep-rooted attachment to it. He speaks of it as an insignificant, harmless, and foolish institution, but considers the opposition to it as factious, hypocritical, and persecuting. He finds among the Anti-Masons no characters for whom he entertains respect. He denies that he ever took any oath which he considered as incompatible with the laws of the land, but he does not know what the oath of the Royal Arch degree is, and does not deny that it has been correctly stated in the Anti-Masonic publications. He thinks the Anti-Masonic excitement mischievous, hypocritical, and transient, and that it will very shortly blow itself out. He thinks it the duty of every good citizen to check the spirit and cool the effervescence of Anti-Masonry, and with that view approves the selection made by the Legislature of Senators

last week, when in every instance they chose the Masonic candidate with the smaller number of primary votes, in preference to the Anti-Masonic candidate with the larger number. From these opinions I warmly dissented, till it was nearly half-past twelve, when I attended in the Senate-chamber of the Legislature the semi-annual meeting of the Overseers of Harvard University. I found the Governor in the chair, and Dr. Pearce, of Brookline, reading a report of a committee. It was followed by several others, which absorbed the time for about an hour, though the reading of some of them was dispensed with. There were two vacancies in the Board: one by the death of the late Chief-Justice Parker, which was supplied by the election of the present Chief Justice, Lemuel Shaw; and one by the removal of the Rev. Henry Ware, Junr., in whose place the Rev. Convers Francis, of Watertown, was chosen. There was a question very debatable presented by the report of a committee that the seat at the Board of the Rev. Abiel Holmes, of Cambridge, was vacated in consequence of his having ceased to be the pastor of the First Congregational Church at Cambridge. The committee consisted of James T. Austin, N. L. Frothingham, and Dr. Codman, of Dorchester, who dissented from the report, and requested that Dr. Holmes, who was present, might be heard in defence of his right to his seat. As there was not time for this, the question upon the acceptance of the report was postponed to the next semi-annual meeting of the Board, with an order in the mean time to print the report. It was past two when the meeting adjourned.

Judge Davis mentioned to me his wish that I would deliver a discourse to the Academy of Arts and Sciences. While I was President of the United States, the Academy passed a vote requesting me to deliver a discourse, which was then impossible. In my answer I intimated that, although I could not then, I might hereafter comply with their request. But at the very first meeting of the Academy after I ceased to be President of the United States they chose Mr. Bowditch for their President. I considered their choice as a superseding of their prior request to their President to discourse to them; and do

not think it proper for me to remind them of that request, or of my intimation in answer to it.

5th. Heard Mr. Whitney; morning discourse from 1 Corinthians xi. 29: "For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body." Occasional upon the communion, which he, after the service, administered. The afternoon service was from 2 Peter i. 5: "Giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue; and to virtue, knowledge." After the service, Mr. Whitney requested the members of the church to remain, and read the letter from the Second Church in Roxbury, inviting this church to attend, by their pastor and two delegates, the ordination of Mr. George Whitney on the 15th of this month. The letter mentioned also the other churches invited to attend, among which was one in New Hampshire, one in Maine, and the Congregational Church at Baltimore. Mr. Whitney then put the question whether the invitation should be accepted; then, whether I should be one of the delegates, and his brother, John Whitney, the other, to accompany him; all which was unanimously voted.

6th. On my return home, I found Dr. Abner Phelps, of Boston, and Mr. Farnsworth, who came as a deputation from the Anti-Masons; who said that, being informed the inhabitants of Quincy proposed to celebrate the 4th of July, at which time I was to deliver an address to them, it was the wish of their constituents that the inhabitants of Quincy, and I also, should consent to transfer this celebration to the Old South Church at Boston. I told them it had not yet been determined that there should be a celebration of the day at Quincy; that a committee had been chosen by a portion of the inhabitants to report upon the expediency of it, and, in that contingency, to procure an orator. I was a member of that committee, and they were to make a report this evening, but it would not be definitive. The committee would request an adjournment of the meeting for a final determination. Some of the members of the committee had intimated a wish that I should deliver the address, and I had consented, if it should be the desire of the inhabitants of the town and my health should permit. But

I doubted whether it would be agreeable to them to transfer the celebration to Boston; and for myself, as I wished to deal with them in perfect candor, I should be unwilling to address the Anti-Masons on the 4th of July. On that day it would be my wish to discard all feelings and acts of a partial character. Besides my participation in all the sentiments appropriate to that day, I had special motives of deep solemnity connected with it, from its being also the anniversary of my father's death. My opinions concurred with those of the Anti-Masons so far as to believe that the institution of Freemasonry ought to be abolished, or its obnoxious principles discarded. But this was now a party question and subject of very angry controversy. If it should be necessary for me to take part publicly in this controversy, I should prefer any other day for putting on the harness to the 4th of July.

Dr. Phelps then expressed himself with much bitterness against the principles of Masonry, but finally said he had not expected that I should comply with their request. Mr. Farnsworth said that many of them would be disappointed. Mr. Thomas Greenleaf afterwards called, and I requested him to make the report from the committee, thinking it advisable, after this visit from the Anti-Masonic deputation, to avoid attending the meeting this evening. Mr. Greenleaf promised to attend and make the report, and said he would call here afterwards and inform me of the result; but he did not come again this evening.

7th. I am writing a third discourse upon the Declaration of Independence, to be delivered on the next Fourth of July to the inhabitants of Quincy, if they should hold the proposed celebration, and, if not, for use hereafter. To avoid repetition of what I have said before upon the same subject is one of the difficulties of my present task. As I proceed, I perceive the effect of age upon the style of composition. I know not that the influence of age upon style has ever been observed by critics; yet it must be discernible. Voltaire wrote his Œdipe at eighteen, his Agathocle at eighty; compare them together.

8th. I wrote all the morning with much dissatisfaction. I cannot suppress my thoughts, and find myself constantly tread-

ing upon embers—a craven scruple. A thought which has ever three parts coward then comes in and mutters of consequences. Shall I speak my thoughts, or shall the fear of man deter me? I was bolder in youth than now. I had then consequences only to myself to dread. Others are now made responsible for my words and deeds. I wrote this morning what I must blot out, and I shall be ashamed of myself for doing so.

10th. Mr. Timothy Fuller came afterwards to the office, and it was to meet him, at his request, that I went to the city. He said that since my attendance at the Anti-Masonic Convention in Boston he had been questioned how far it might be considered as pledging me in opposition to the election of Mr. Clay as President of the United States. I said that Mr. Clay's election did not enter into my consideration at all as connected with the subject. I did not propose to take any part in the next Presidential election. I did not know whether Mr. Clay would be supported by the Anti-Masons or not. They were to hold a convention at Baltimore next September to determine upon this question. If they should fix upon another candidate than Mr. Clay, it would be an incident in no wise essential to the principle. The dissolution of the Masonic institution in the United States I believe to be really more important to us and our posterity than the question whether Mr. Clay or General Jackson shall be the President chosen at the next election. Mr. Fuller said he was satisfied with this answer. He avowed that for himself he had no partiality in favor of Mr. Clay, and intimated that his preference was for Judge McLean, of Ohio, but that others favored Mr. Rush. I told him of the application made to me by the committee from the Anti-Masonics in Boston to deliver an address to them on the 4th of July, which I had declined—of which he said he was glad; but he asked if I had any objection to the publication of that part of my letter to him which expressed the opinion that the institution ought to be dissolved, or to discard their secrets, oaths, penalties, and pageantries. I declined for the present the publication of any part of my letter. Our conversation was interrupted, and I had not the opportunity to say much of what I had intended. Mr. Thomas Greenleaf told me that he, with Daniel Greenleaf, had

been here this morning, to invite me to deliver the address on the 4th of July. It had been finally determined that the celebration should be held, and a committee of arrangements was chosen at the meeting last evening.

15th. I went with Isaac H. Adams to Roxbury; dined at Dr. Thomas Gray's, where were Mr. Peter Whitney, his three sons and two daughters, Dr. Gray's two sons and daughter, George Whitney's wife, a nephew of Dr. Gray's, and a Mr. Dabney. Dr. Gray lent me copies of a manuscript correspondence between Timothy Pickering and Thomas Jefferson upon the Christian religion, of which I had never heard till he mentioned it to me. Immediately after dinner we went to Swallow's Tavern, where, at two o'clock, the Council was held for the ordination of Mr. George Whitney to the pastoral charge of the second parish in Roxbury. Dr. Thaddeus Mason Harris, my classmate, was chosen Moderator of the Council, and Mr. Putnam, the colleague of Dr. Porter, of Roxbury, Scribe. A list of the invited churches was called over, and a minute recorded of those which attended by their pastors and delegates. I attended as one of the delegates of the church at Quincy. One of the members of the Second Church of Roxbury attended with the book of church records. The unanimous invitation of the society to Mr. George Whitney to become their pastor was stated, and his answer of acceptance was read. A resolution was then adopted, that the Council were ready to proceed to the ordination, and the parts of performance were assigned by vote as they had been previously arranged by the committee of the parish. At three o'clock we proceeded to the church. The services began by singing of an anthem. The introductory prayer was made by Mr. Putnam. Selections from Scripture were then read by Mr. Hedge, of West Cambridge. Watts's hymn, "How beauteous are their feet," was sung. The sermon was preached by Mr. Peter Whitney, from Revelation.

Then followed an original hymn, by Dr. Thomas Gray, Jr.; the ordaining prayer, by Dr. Lowell; the charge, by the Rev. Dr. Gray; the right hand of fellowship, by Mr. Barlow, and a hymn, also composed by him; an address to the society, by Mr. Pierpont; concluding prayer, by Mr. Lamson; an anthem; and

the benediction, by Mr. George Whitney. The most remarkable part of the performance was the right hand of fellowship, by David Hatch Barlow, a class-mate of George Whitney's, and now settled at Lynn. The address to the society, by Mr. Pierpont, was an admonition, rather sharp, to the people of the parish of what they would have no right to require of their pastor. After the ceremonies were concluded, the Council returned to the tavern, where there was a light supper. We returned to Quincy, and reached home about eight o'clock.

19th. The intervals of the day were occupied with the revisal of my discourse for the 4th of July. Why is it that I feel more anxiety and more apprehension of failure on this occasion than I ever did in youth, when success was important to my standing in the world and to my hopes of a long-anticipated futurity upon earth? Success or failure is now of little consequence to me, who have, and can have, but a few days to live. I fear the exhibition of faculties in decay. I fear a severity of judgment of the hearers, and yet more of the readers. I experienced this on my second Fourth of July oration, delivered at Washington ten years since, at the meridian of my life. I shall now assail passions and prejudices as earnestly as then, deeming it now, as I deemed it then, my duty. But I cannot now flatter myself that what I shall say will be received even with so much indulgence. I intended to have been short; but I have written more than the length of any oration heretofore delivered by me. My subject spreads upon me as I proceed, and I find myself unwilling to abridge. The style of my first draft is so plain, dry, and unadorned, that it would lull the auditory to sleep. In revising, I am endeavoring to put what Dr. Waterhouse used to call the plums in the pudding; but they are few, and more relishing to myself than they will be to others. I copied and enlarged industriously this day.

27th. We had afternoon visits from Commodore and Mrs. Morris, and from Mr. John Bailey. I read to Mr. Bailey my recent correspondence with Mr. Rush, and lent him the copy of Rush's letter to Edward Ingersoll. Mr. Bailey wishes to obtain the appointment of Professor of Moral Philosophy at a new institution for education now getting up at New York,

and has been advised to procure a letter of recommendation to Mr. Gallatin for that purpose; which he requested, and I promised.

Both Mr. Bailey and Commodore Morris spoke of the last incidents attending the dissolution of General Jackson's Unit Cabinet. In the Telegraph of Friday, the 17th, there was an editorial article containing the following words: "It is proved that the families of the Secretaries of the Treasury and of the Navy and of the Attorney-General refused to associate with her" (Eaton's wife). On the same evening Eaton wrote a note to S. D. Ingham misquoting this paragraph, as if it had said, "the Secretary of the Treasury, of the Secretary of the Navy, and of the Attorney-General refused to associate with her," and called it a remark of his (Eaton's) wife. He then says the publication appears in a paper which professes to be friendly to Ingham, and that it is brought forth under his immediate eye. He desires to know whether he sanctions or will disavow it, and says the relation they have sustained to each other authorizes him to demand an immediate answer. Ingham answers on the 18th that he is unable to ascertain from Eaton's note whether it is the publication or the fact which he asks him if he has sanctioned or will disavow. If the first, the demand is too absurd to merit an answer. If the last, he might find authority for the same fact in a Philadelphia paper of about the 1st of April, as friendly to Eaton as the Telegraph might be to Ingham. He adds that Eaton must be not a little deranged to imagine that any blustering of his would induce Ingham to disavow what all the inhabitants of the city know, and perhaps half the people of the United States believe, to be true.

Eaton replies by a challenge, and calls Ingham's answer impudent and insolent.

The 19th was Sunday. Ingham answers Eaton's challenge on Monday, the 20th, and says that Eaton's brother-in-law, Dr. Randolph, intruded himself into Ingham's room with threats of personal violence; that he (Ingham) understands perfectly the part he (Eaton) is made to play in the farce now acting before the American people; that he is not to be intimidated by threats, or provoked by abuse, to any act inconsistent with

the pity and contempt which Eaton's condition and conduct inspire.

Eaton closes the correspondence by a note, in which he introduces a retort of imputation upon Ingham's wife. Eaton had ceased his functions as Secretary of War on the 17th, and Dr. Randolph assumed the duties as Acting Secretary on the 18th. Ingham ceased acting as Secretary of the Treasury on the 20th, and was to have left Washington on the 21st. On that day the correspondence between him and Eaton was published in the Telegraph, and on the same evening Ingham wrote a letter to the President, affirming that he had been waylaid that day, both at the Treasury and till a late hour in the streets, near his lodgings, by Eaton, Dr. Randolph, W. B. Lewis, Second Auditor, and also a brother-in-law of Eaton's, John Campbell, the Treasurer, and T. L. Smith, Registrar of the Treasury, for the purpose of assassination.

The President received this letter on the 22d, and sent immediately to Ingham to ask an interview with him; but he had left the city. The President wrote a letter to Campbell, Smith, Randolph, and Lewis, enclosing Ingham's letter, and enquiring if they had any, and what agency in Ingham's difficulty. Randolph's answer was ambiguous and evasive. The rest most explicitly deny the charges of Ingham, and declare they had no agency or concern whatever in the attack of Eaton upon Ingham. There is a further rumor that Eaton pursued Ingham on his way to Baltimore, but did not overtake him. Eaton's letters, as if to console him for his failure to break Ingham's head, break Priscian's without mercy.

28th. I received two letters from my son John, and several newspapers containing particulars of the brawl between the late Secretaries of the Treasury and of War. There is a letter from Eaton to Blair, the editor of the Globe newspaper, dated and published on the 23d instant, totally disclaiming all intention of assaulting Ingham, but acknowledging that he had challenged him to fight, and on his refusal had sought him to make the proper application to his superficial sensibilities, as he had no others. He declares his regret that he had made any allusion to Ingham's wife, apologizing for it, for his irritated and indig-

nant feelings, and declaring that he had no intention or idea that his note containing the imputation would come before the public; but he does not retract it.

There is also the correspondence between John McPherson Berrien, late Attorney-General, and the President, relating to Berrien's resignation. Berrien was absent in Georgia when the resignations of the other members of the Cabinet took place. His letter of resignation is dated at Washington, the 18th instant; very courteous in manner and handsomely written. He explains why he had not tendered his resignation when he first saw the President's communication to the Secretary of the Treasury announcing his determination to organize anew his Cabinet. He had not the reasons for resigning alleged by the Secretaries of War and of State, and says he was totally ignorant of any want of harmony in the Cabinet which either had, or ought to have, impeded the operations of the Administration; and that he resigns his office simply in obedience to the President's will.

The President's answer, dated the same day, accepts his resignation, and, though also courteously expressed, says that he had felt himself in duty bound to change his Cabinet, in justice to those who had been alike invited to maintain near him the relation of confidential advisers, and because the harmony in feeling necessary to an efficient Administration had failed in a considerable degree to mark the course of this. There is a second letter from Berrien, dated the 22d, announcing that the arrangements necessary to put the office of Attorney-General in a condition for the reception of his successor were in progress, and stating that misrepresentations in the newspapers made it proper that the correspondence should be published. The President's answer, on the same day, consents to the publication. On the point of harmony in the Administration, the correspondents are at issue about as direct as they could be; but Berrien is the only member of the Cabinet who has gone out of office with dignity. He has also treated the laws of grammar with some respect.

29th. Thomas and Daniel Greenleaf were here in the evening, and spoke of the arrangements for the 4th of July. They

showed me a list of toasts which they had prepared, and upon which they asked for any observations which I might be disposed to make, and requested me also to add to them any other toasts which I might choose to propose. I remarked upon one of their toasts, and requested them to omit one in honor of myself, observing that I disliked the practice of toasting a man to his face. They said the usage of toasting the orator of the day was so universal that it could not well be omitted. I then requested that the toast might be postponed until after I shall have withdrawn from the hall. They said it was proposed that the procession should go from the town-hall first to Mr. Whitney's, then round by Mr. Potter's, to take them up, and then come to my house.

I thought this procession would be too long. I urged that the toasts should avoid as much as possible all controversial sentiment, and therefore that a compliment to the harmony of my Administration, which they had introduced into the toasts, should be omitted, as containing an indirect reproof of the present times. I said I should in my own discourse, which I feared would be an hour long, carefully avoid all offensive allusion to the present Administration, the main scope of it being an argument against the South Carolinian doctrine of nullification. It was probable, from present appearances, that the successors to the last Administration would do justice to themselves; and I felt no inclination to assist them in the performance of the task.

I propose to confer with these gentlemen again before the day, which I am expecting with an anxiety and dejection of spirit almost incredible to myself, and of which I am ashamed.

I read before dinner a few pages of my father's journals, and towards evening a few pages of Loudon's Encyclopædia of Gardening. "Live and learn," says the adage; but at my time of life is it possible to learn anything? They say Cato learnt Greek after he was sixty. I doubt if he learnt it well.

Day. Same as last month. I have adhered to the practice of keeping my chamber till after dinner, but have not made profitable use of my time. The composition of a discourse for the 4th of July, and writing it twice over, has engaged

much of it, and of the remainder the greater part has been wasted. I repine at the dispensations of Providence, and am neither duly sensible of the blessings I enjoy nor watchful to improve them for the good of my fellow-creatures. My own health, though constantly drooping, is better than I have a right to expect; that of my family has been this month unusually good. My comforts are numberless, but my heart is not duly thankful. The prospect forward is oppressive, but the deepest of my afflictions is the comparison of the age I have attained with the nothing I have done for mankind, and the insatiable longing to do something with the conscious shame that it will never be done. I dare no longer even pray for aid from another source.

July 3d. I was occupied much of the day in writing a closing paragraph for my discourse. At this late hour I absolutely sickened at that which I had written. It was gloomy, inauspicious, and affectedly, rather than affectingly, full of myself. The new paragraph totally changed its character: gave to the future an aspect of hope and gladness, instead of despondency; urged to generous and energetic action, and to calm reliance on a superintending Providence; leaving a slight allusion to my own age and proximity to my end at the close—but merely to give additional solemnity to the dying sentiment of my father, and linking the perpetuity of the Union with that of independence; pointing all at the same time to the future prospects of my auditory. As it is, my judgment pronounces the peroration good. As it was till this very day, it was execrably bad, and I was utterly unaware of it. My self-criticism was disarmed by the pathos of a close in the last words of my father, and I had not remarked the awkwardness of manner in which I had brought it forth. How severe a censor it behooves me to be upon myself!

4th. From before nine there came a succession of visitors, who engaged me in conversation until the procession came and took me up. Mr. Potter and Mr. Buxton were in the procession, but Mr. Whitney was at the meeting-house. The procession consisted of the Quincy Light Infantry Company, preceded by a band of music, the committee of arrangements, and inhabitants of Quincy and the neighboring towns. When

the procession arrived at the meeting-house, they were detained nearly a quarter of an hour. The house had never before been filled; an impression had been circulated abroad that the house was slightly built, that the slate roof was too heavy for the granite walls, and that the galleries were not duly supported. Mr. Charles Brooks told me before we left my house that it was circulated much among the people that the walls of our temple would this day crumble into ruin; and just before we reached the house there had been a loud cracking at the southwest corner of the gallery, and a great alarm among the ladies seated there. Some new shoring was put under the galleries, and we entered the house, which was soon filled to overflowing.

The order of the performances was—1. Voluntary. Song, "The Pilgrim Fathers," by Mrs. Hemans, sung by Colonel Newhall, with the chorus, "Glory to God in the highest, and peace on earth; and good will towards men." 2. Prayer, by Mr. Whitney. 3. Anthem—Lord Byron's Hebrew melody, "Go forth to the Mount, bring the Olive-branch Home." 4. Declaration of Independence, read by the Rev. Mr. Potter, minister of the Episcopal Church. 5. Psalm written for the occasion —my own version of the 149th Psalm. 6. Oration, by John Quincy Adams. 7. The "Trumpet of Liberty," a song. Final benediction, by Mr. Whitney.

My discourse occupied an hour and twenty-five minutes in the delivery, and I omitted about one-third of what I had written. It was well received, frequently interrupted by applause, and closed with plaudits long continued. The procession then moved to the town-hall, where was a dinner of about one hundred and twenty persons. Mr. Thomas Greenleaf presided. The dinner was too long; and after six or seven of the toasts had been given, alternating with symphonies and songs, I rose, and said, "Friends, neighbors, and fellow-townsmen, I will now, with your permission, take my leave of you for the present, and, before parting from you, wish to add a few, a very few more last words to the many which you have already heard this day from me with so much indulgence. They are—first, to thank you heartily for that indulgence, and

then to propose a toast in honor of the primitive mother of New England—may I add, the primitive mother of those principles which have made this day a day of glory and of joy?—the Plymouth Colony.

"To that Colony our native town did not originally belong. But I see around me more than one of those who number among their sires the fortunate youth from the Mayflower who first alighted upon the Rock. The Legislature of this Commonwealth have seen fit to link you in political association with the district of Plymouth, and to that association I am indebted for the honor of having been selected as their and your Representative in the councils of the Union; an honor the more preciously prized by me as a spontaneous and unexpected testimonial of confidence from that which, above all other lands, I am entitled to call '*my own, my native land.*' Upon this day I cannot forget Plymouth and her history; I cannot forget the Mayflower, and the social compact of her Pilgrims. I propose to you the following toast:

"The root struck from the seed of the Mayflower, and the plant ascending from it—salutary, fruitful, perennial. It shall rise to heaven and overspread the earth."

This was received with three times three; and I left the hall and walked home. There was a fresh breeze of air all day, but the sun was blazing, and the thermometer above 90. I never experienced atmospherical heat more intensely than from the time I left my house in the morning till my return to it after dinner. In delivering the discourse I began a pitch too high, and, before I had got through the first page, strained my voice till it broke. I thought I should be totally disabled from proceeding, but, by lowering the pitch gradually, found relief, and spoke much more easily towards the close than at the beginning.

7th. Received this morning a letter from Samuel L. Gouverneur of the 4th, and one from George Sullivan of the 5th, at New York, announcing the decease, at three o'clock in the afternoon of the 4th, of the ex-President of the United States, James Monroe, a man whose life has been marked with vicissitudes as great as have befallen any citizen of the United States

since the beginning of our national existence. An officer of the Revolutionary army, wounded at Princeton in December, 1776; a member of the Confederation Congress; then of the Senate of the United States; Minister to France under Washington's Administration; next Governor of Virginia; then Minister to France, Great Britain, and Spain; Governor of Virginia again; Secretary of State, Secretary of War, and eight years President of the United States—elected for the second term by a vote of the Electors unanimous save one. His life for the last six years has been one of abject penury and distress, and they have brought him to a premature grave, though in the seventy-third year of his age. His Administration, happening precisely at the moment of the breaking up of old party divisions, was the period of the greatest tranquillity which has ever been enjoyed by this country; it was a time of great prosperity, and his personal popularity was unrivalled. Yet no one regretted the termination of his Administration, and less of popular veneration followed him into retirement than had accompanied all his predecessors. His last days have been much afflicted, contrasting deeply with the triumphal procession which he made through the Union in the years 1817 and 1819.

I went to Boston with Charles, and paid a visit of three hours to Alexander H. Everett, conversing upon political economy, Freemasonry, and nullification. Attended a meeting of the Overseers of Harvard University at the Council-chamber. Its only object was to announce the honorary degrees proposed by the corporation to be conferred at the next Commencement. Those of the last year had been postponed, because the meeting of the Overseers had been held less than four weeks before Commencement-day. The meeting now adjourned before one.

11th. I had received yesterday a written invitation from Dr. Abner Phelps to attend this afternoon, at half-past four o'clock, at the delivery of an Anti-Masonic oration by Mr. Timothy Fuller. I accordingly went in. When I arrived, I was met at the door of Faneuil Hall by the Sheriff of the county, Mr. Charles P. Sumner, who introduced me to a seat in the hall, at the right hand of Mr. Fuller. At his left was Dr. Beecher,

the clergyman, then opening the meeting with prayer. Mr. Fuller's oration took about three-quarters of an hour in the delivery, and was preceded by the reading of a letter from Mr. Rush, of twenty-two folio pages, in answer to one addressed to him by the committee of the late Anti-Masonic Convention in Boston. It was read by a young man named Walker; but he was not familiar with the handwriting, and did not read it impressively. The oration and the letter were both ardent against the institution. The most stirring passage in Rush's letter is the statement that not one of the men convicted in the State of New York of agency in the kidnapping of Morgan had been expelled from the lodge to which he belongs. When I went into Faneuil Hall, it was well filled, but not crowded. There were many indifferent spectators, some of whom were continually going away; and in the midst of the reading of Mr. Rush's letter a parading militia company marched, with drum and fife, in the street by the hall, which drew off certainly more than a hundred of the auditory. Some of the Anti-Masons seemed to think this was purposely done; but it might be otherwise. Of my Boston acquaintance I saw very few; of the aristocracy, not one. There were a few ladies—not more than twenty. There is scarcely any popular feeling on the subject; a large body of mechanics being employed upon the building of a magnificent Masonic hall. The application of a blister upon the bosom of the public is wanting. A melodrama, a transparency, a popular ballad well composed, would run like wild-fire; but there is no dramatist, painter, or ballad-monger to produce it.

Mr. John Bailey was there; I took to town and gave him the recommendatory letter to Mr. Gallatin which he had requested, and with which I had enclosed his pamphlet on the Rights of Governments. He said he wished for some conversation with me; and, finding we could not conveniently hold it there, I agreed to stop at his house on my way home. He rode home with Mr. Joseph Morton, and I reached his house before them. I walked back and met them, when Mr. Bailey left Mr. Morton's chaise and joined me.

He said Stone, the editor of the New York Commercial Ad-

vertiser, wished me to write a series of essays, five or six in number, exposing the present condition of the country, to be published in his paper, but under an injunction of secrecy.

I told Mr. Bailey that he might say in answer to Mr. Stone that my engagements did not allow me time to comply with his request; but, I said, there was another difficulty in the way. Mr. Stone and I might perhaps not differ about the evil, but we should about the remedy; and such essays as I should write would not suit him. I added, that I was informed by Mr. Rush that Mr. Clay declined all concession to Anti-Masonry, and that I thought Mr. Clay was in secret Masonic communication with the Masons his supporters. I further observed that if the Anti-Masons did not propose to support Mr. Clay, it was of the last importance to them to communicate with each other in the different States upon the candidate to be assumed by them, before their contemplated meeting at Baltimore in September; else they would certainly disagree there. The fiend would creep into the fold; turn them to his own use. They would break up in discord, and not only have no common candidate, but would irretrievably ruin their cause. They ought, in my opinion, without a second thought, take up Rush.

Mr. Bailey said he had hoped I should be their candidate. I told him I had not the slightest desire to be so, and wished not even to be thought of.

13th. Mr. Seaver, the town schoolmaster, and secretary to the committee of arrangements for the celebration of the 4th, sent for the copy of my oration, which he was to take to the printer at Boston. I sent it accordingly—a copy of the whole discourse, as I had written it—to which I added a copy of my version of the 149th Psalm, sung by the choir immediately before I spoke. Thus goes into the world my third Independence-day rhapsody, to be, like the second, lacerated and cut to pieces by the critics, after having been received with the warmest approbation by the auditory.

15th. Mr. Harrison, Alderman, and Mr. Wetmore, a member of the Common Council of Boston, came out as a sub-committee of the committee of arrangements appointed by the

city government to take order for the delivery of an eulogy of the late ex-President Monroe. These gentlemen informed me that it had been determined to invite me to undertake the task.

I told them that the relation in which I had stood to Mr. Monroe, and the respect that I entertained for his character, would forbid me to decline the invitation, and that the high gratification I should derive from contributing any assistance I could give to an object in which the city government of Boston took an interest would induce me to undertake the service with pleasure. I then asked them at what time they proposed that the eulogy should be pronounced.

They said they were instructed to enquire what time would best suit my convenience.

I said that in a performance of that nature a number of biographical notices would be expected—for the facts concerning which I should be under the necessity of resorting to Mr. Monroe's family. I should immediately write to his son-in-law, Samuel L. Gouverneur, at New York, and could not anticipate with certainty the time when I might receive his answer—probably in a week or ten days—after which I should want about a fortnight to prepare. I supposed it might be about a month before I should be prepared.

They said it had been supposed about three weeks would be a suitable interval, but that the city government would readily fix the time which would be convenient to me.

I said I would make it as early as possible, and give them notice as soon as I should be ready.

18th. I was occupied from breakfast to dinner-time almost entirely in refreshing my memory upon the important military events of our Revolutionary War. Mr. Monroe's career of public life began with it. From 1776 to 1779 he was in General Washington's army, and was present at the most important events in it through the series of those years. He was also occasionally engaged in other military service till the close of the war. He was wounded by a ball through the shoulder at the battle of Princeton. It will be indispensable to notice this part of his life in delivering his eulogy. I must, therefore,

renew my familiarity with the history of the war, for which purpose I read many pages of Pitkin's and Belsham's Histories, of Stedman's History of the War, of the Remembrancer, and of Washington's Letters to Congress. These gave me distinct recollections of the campaign of 1776, and of the affair at Princeton, in January, 1777. Going back to those times seems almost like a resurrection from the dead; but while reading so much I could write but little, and made scarcely any progress with my eulogy, and otherwise fell in arrear of my ordinary tasks.

Charles borrowed for me at the Athenæum, and brought out with him, Wirt's British Spy, written in 1802, when Mr. Monroe was Governor of Virginia, in the last letter of which there is a character of him contrasted with that of Chief Justice Marshall. It is chiefly remarkable as containing a prediction that Mr. Monroe would be one day President of the United States.

19th. If there is a lesson necessary for my peace of mind in this world, it is to form no strong attachment to any person or thing that it contains; and if I have a weakness growing upon me above all others, it is that of attaching myself inordinately both to persons and things—to persons from whom I must part; to things which bring me nothing but disappointment. The remnant of my days, so far as my physical and intellectual powers will hold out, ought to be devoted to reading and writing, to honor the memory of my father and mother. I suffer numberless things day after day to divert me from them, and whatever I undertake turns to bitter dust and ashes.

I spent this morning in writing a few lines of my eulogy, and in reading the Remembancer, General Washington's Official Letters, Pitkin, and Stedman upon the campaigns of 1777 and 1778. After dinner I took out from the library of my father Heath's Memoirs, two volumes of Marshall's Life of Washington, and two of Gordon's History of the American Revolution. I recurred also to the journals of Congress for the time when Mr. Monroe took his seat in that body. Our General amused me much this afternoon, but perhaps by absorbing more of my time than I could profitably allow to him. Of the time when Mr. Monroe took his seat in Congress, December, 1783, at

Annapolis, I thought I could avail myself for some pertinent remarks.

20th. Finished my version of the 3d Psalm, still with entire dissatisfaction—a sentiment which hangs upon everything that I do. The Psalms appear to a person taking them in hand for translation a series of perpetual repetitions. Yet in every one of them there is some thought not expressed in any other. To seize that is the peculiar duty of the translator, and, as there is in a great many of them an assemblage of ideas the connection between which is not easily perceived, it becomes no easy task to join upon them the links necessary to form their concatenation. The 3d Psalm obviously requires the supposition of a lapse of time between the first and last verses. It is said to have been composed by David when he fled before his son Absalom. But it seems to have been begun when he fled, and finished after the rebellion was subdued; for the first part is an agonizing prayer, and the last, a shout of triumph. Unless with this key, the Psalm is all inconsistency; with it, the beautiful disorder is the effect of art.

21st. Attended a meeting of the *Φ. B. K.* Society, which had been called by Edward Everett, their President, by an advertisement in the newspapers. I was surprised to find assembled at the hall of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences between fifty and sixty members. The President, soon after I entered, called the meeting to order, and stated his object in calling it; which was to consider the propriety of revising the charter and fundamental laws of the Society, which he read. He read also that part of a recent publication of Avery Allen, upon Freemasonry, which relates to the *Φ. B. K.* Society, and in which an account, in some respects erroneous, of the origin and character of the institution is given. And he further read a letter to him from William Short, now at Philadelphia. William Short was the first signer at William and Mary College, Virginia, of the charter of the *Φ. B. K.* Society at Harvard University. This charter was granted to Elisha Parmele in 1779, and in the statutes of the institution there is the form of an oath to be administered to every member at his admission. Short says the Society was formed by a fellow-student of his

at the College of Williamsburg, because he prided himself in being the first Hellenist of the college, and that it was to rivalize another society with Latin initials.

After these papers, I enquired what other branches of the Society were known to exist at this time, with a view to propose some communication with them before adopting any definitive measure.

Judge Story moved that a committee should be appointed to take the charter and laws of the Society into consideration, and report a revision of them to the Society at an adjourned meeting.

While the Judge was reducing his motion to writing, I offered one, not to supersede his, but to be adopted with it. I enquired if the elections were already completed of the members of the club now passing from the junior to the senior class.

Nobody knew, but it was believed that part of them were chosen, and the rest remained to be elected.

I moved a resolution that no oath should be administered to any member of the Society to be hereafter elected, and no promise of secrecy required.

Judge Story withdrew his motion, to allow mine to be debated. Many amendments were proposed to my motion, which were debated at least two hours. No direct opposition to it was avowed, but substitutes and amendments rapidly succeeded one another, and the debate was running into a snarl.

Franklin Dexter at last proposed, as an amendment to my resolution, that no secret should be *disclosed* to any member to be admitted hereafter.

I accepted it as a part of my motion, deeming it a mere verbal addition signifying nothing; but it raised a fearful array of objections, and my motion was finally voted to be laid on the table. Judge Story's motion was then taken up, and, after some discussion, adopted. He moved that the committee should consist of nine, and be nominated by the President; which was agreed to. The committee are Judge Story, J. Q. Adams, H. H. Fuller, Dr. Lowell, A. H. Everett, C. G. Loring, L. Baldwin, J. T. Austin, and Judge C. Jackson.

I then moved that the form of oath in the record-book should be repealed; to which J. T. Austin objected, as not in order after the appointment of the committee, and the President so decided. But Mr. Loring moved that no new member should be admitted till after the committee shall have reported; and that vote passed. It is now vacation at the college, so that none can be admitted. The meeting adjourned to Thursday, the 11th of next month, and Judge Story notified the members of the committee to meet next Monday morning at ten. We adjourned at half-past one.

The views of Judge Story extend to a total remodelling of the Society; to abolish the rule requiring unanimity at the election of the members, and to turn the Society into an academy of literature. He declared his disapprobation of all secret societies, and declared the administration of the oath illegal.

23d. Received this morning a letter from Samuel L. Gouverneur, and a manuscript of two hundred and fifty pages, containing an autobiography of Mr. Monroe, coming down only from his birth to the time of his return from his first mission to France. This manuscript will essentially serve me for the composition of my eulogy, which is excruciating.

24th. Towards evening I rode with Mrs. Adams over to Weymouth, and, after numerous enquiries, found, to my great surprise, Mr. Humphrey residing in the old house which was formerly Dr. Tufts's; one of the houses where once my careless childhood strayed. More than twenty-five years had passed since I was in the house; and I cannot describe the sensation with which I now entered it. All is changed around me. Of my cotemporaries, how few remain! Of my seniors, scarce any. Yet how vain and profitless the reflection incessantly impressed upon me, that a few short days only can pass before I must follow my fathers to the grave, and leave my dwelling to I know not whom! Mr. Humphrey promised to come over to Quincy and survey my lot next Tuesday, between one and two, unless it should rain, and in that case on Thursday. We returned home over the Bent's Point Bridge, and on the way I passed by the grave-yard where, fifty-five years since, I saw my mother's mother deposited. She had been a second mother

to me, and my memory never recurs to her but with a feeling of melancholy affection. Death fixes forever the relation existing between the departed spirit and the survivors upon earth. My grandmother Smith can never be to me any other than a guardian angel of my childhood; nor I to her other than a child of her guardian care. I cannot realize that I am now seven years older than she was when she died, nor conceive that if we meet in heaven it must be under very different relations than those in which we were separated by her death.

25th. I went in Boston to the hall of the American Academy, and there met the *Φ. B. K.* committee, Judge Story presiding. We there discussed for four hours the report to be made to the Society. After much desultory discussion, I moved that the committee should report a resolution repealing all parts of the charter and laws which require the administration of an oath and any promise of secrecy. This, after much discussion, was adopted—Colonel Baldwin only voting against it. He preferred to continue the Society as it is, and wished for no change. A proposition was then made to alter the rule requiring unanimity for the election of members, and, after some desultory debate, Mr. A. H. Everett moved that in future members should be elected by a vote of two-thirds of the members present.

I opposed this alteration, first, upon the ground that I thought no other alteration of the charter and laws necessary than that which had been adopted; and, secondly, because the rule requiring unanimity for the choice of members depended upon that part of the institution which declared one of its great objects to be friendship. I finally moved as an amendment to Everett's resolution, that all the parts of the charter and laws which have any relation to friendship should be repealed—leaving it a mere literary association. This was rejected by a vote of five to three, and Everett's resolution passed by the same vote. Austin was gone. Another resolution was then proposed, and passed, that all nominations for elections of members, but of under-graduates, should be made a year beforehand. I then objected to any further alterations, believing that we had already more than matter enough for one day's

debate of the Society. A sub-committee of three, Judge Story, A. H. Everett, and Judge Jackson, was then appointed to report a revised constitution and code at an adjourned meeting of the committee, on Monday, the 8th of next month.

I gave Judge Story a copy of my oration. He said he had delivered eight lectures of his course at Cambridge, against nullification and Blackstone's definition of sovereignty. He said he proposed to publish his lectures next year, and should cite me as authority for his doctrine. He said, too, he was glad I had named Massachusetts as one of the States which had countenanced the absurdity of nullification. It was two o'clock when the committee adjourned.

26th. The Evening Post contained an address from John M. Berrien, late Attorney-General of the United States, to the public, with much collateral correspondence. The Telegraph newspaper some time since affirmed that a member of Congress had last winter called, at the request of the President, upon the Secretaries of the Treasury, of the Navy, and the Attorney-General, and informed them that unless their families would associate with Mrs. Eaton they would be removed. This was first faintly, and afterwards positively, denied to be true, in the Globe newspaper. A tart correspondence ensued between Berrien and Blair, the editor of the Globe, extremely insolent and insulting on the part of Blair, till Blair finally produced extracts from a paper which he affirmed the President had *read* to the two Secretaries and Attorney-General as declaratory of his intentions. The purport of it was, that if he had evidence that there was a combination to drive Major Eaton from his Cabinet, it would be considered of. This paper Berrien and Ingham positively declare never was read to them. They both declare that Richard M. Johnson did come to them on the 26th of January last and inform them and Branch that the President had determined to remove them from office unless they would invite Mrs. Eaton to their large parties. Blair produces an extract from a letter of Richard M. Johnson, stating that the President had expressly disclaimed any intention to interfere with their family concerns, and declares himself expressly authorized to say that the President did read

the paper to them. Ingham says Johnson told him that the President was under such excitement that he was like a roaring lion, and that Mrs. Huygens, the Dutch Minister's wife, had joined in the conspiracy against Mrs. Eaton, and that he would send Huygens home, to teach him and his master that the wife of a member of his Cabinet should not be treated so; and that afterwards the President repeated in substance the same thing to him. The private morals of the country were deeply outraged by the appointment of Eaton to an office of Cabinet Minister, and they are vindicating themselves by a tremendous reaction. But what else could be expected from a President of the United States himself an adjudicated adulterer!

28th. Mr. Lord, the printer of the oration, some time afterwards came in. He said he understood I was engaged in writing a biography of my father, and that his house were desirous of being the publishers of it. I said it was doubtful whether such a work would be published in my lifetime; but if it should, I would remember his proposals, and confer with him upon the subject. I told him there was an autobiography of my father, containing an account of a considerable portion of his life, and fragments of journals, which, altogether, would fill two large octavo volumes; that I should perhaps publish them, and part of his correspondence, in which case I would apply to him. He then spoke of the oration, and of its success; said he had printed at first two thousand copies, and then two thousand more, and that they were all gone. He had sent small parcels of them to all the Southern cities and to several parts of the Western country. He spoke of a critical contest of a fact stated in the oration, contained in the Boston Daily Advertiser of yesterday, which I had seen.

Day. I had not even completed the revisal of my Fourth of July oration for the press when the application came from the Corporation of Boston to deliver an eulogy upon Mr. Monroe, which I had scarcely the right, and could not have the inclination, to decline. But it has from that time oppressed me with reading and writing almost night and day, in the heart of a summer damp and sultry beyond example. And I have been

not less oppressed with anxiety than with labor. The oration succeeded far beyond expectation, and has been hitherto spared very generally by malignant criticism. "Non nobis, Domine, sed nomini tuo sit gloria." It touched upon popular topics, and presented them under new views. This I cannot again do, nor can I do justice to the subject without coming in collision with passions and resentments which will not sleep. There is a combination of parties against me, including almost the whole population of the country, and of which my former supporters are the most inveterate—the Clay Masons and so-called National Republicans. This eulogy will furnish them an occasion to assail me. I now employ the day from morning dawn till dark in reading and writing, and all other business runs in arrear.

August 6th. I am still toiling upon the eulogy on Mr. Monroe, my plan of which forms itself as I proceed. It has assumed the shape of a memoir upon his life. It was long, eventful, and connected with the principal events of our history, from the Declaration of Independence, for a full half-century. The fragment of autobiography sent me by Mr. Gouverneur comes down only to the close of Mr. Monroe's first mission to France. For the narrative during the War of the Revolution I have been obliged to recur to the published collection of General Washington's letters, to Marshall's Life of him, to Gordon's and Stedman's histories of the war, to possess myself fully of the chain of facts; and it absorbs half my time. It also convinces me that my plan is not a good one—that my narrative will be long, tedious, and dull, and that I shall be compelled to abridge without knowing exactly where.

8th. I went to Boston, and attended the meeting of the committee of the *Φ. B. K.* Society, which sat from ten till past two. Judge Story, the Chairman, had a report prepared, which was earnestly and warmly debated for four hours. It was in substance a new constitution for the Society, making several essential changes in its laws, of which the abolition of all secrets and promises was one. I was desirous that the alteration should be confined to this and to one other by-law, which subjected the members of the graduating class to all the ex-

penses of the anniversary celebration. There was no direct opposition to the articles of the report abolishing secrets and promises, except from Colonel Baldwin, who said he wished for no change, and preferred that the Society should continue as it was, but used no argument. All the other articles of the report were carried by bare majorities. I strongly opposed the article for altering the mode of election. It has always hitherto required a unanimous vote. The change proposed is that a vote of two-thirds of the voters present shall be sufficient for admission. Edward Everett, the President, and Judge Story are both exceedingly bent upon effecting this alteration, and have been laboring to accomplish it for eight or ten years. I think it will change entirely the character of the Society, and make it less select: for one improper exclusion which it will prevent, it will secure the admittance of ten pale-colored candidates, of little or no value to literature or to the reputation of the Society. Judge Story argued the point with great earnestness, and carried the article by a bare majority, seven members only of the committee being present. The Judge was called out for an hour to attend a garden and cemetery meeting, and placed me in the chair during his absence. While he was gone, one article of the report was set aside, and to the rest, excepting that which I opposed, there was little or no objection. But the Judge was a little discomposed at the loss even of one article of his report, which he considered as forming one entire and perfect system, the symmetry of which would be lost by the omission of any part of it. He asked for a reconsideration of the vote by which the article had been rejected, and Dr. Lowell moved the reconsideration. But two members of the committee had withdrawn since the vote had been taken, and upon my adverting to the usual rule of deliberative assemblies, that decided questions shall not be reconsidered by smaller numbers than when the vote was taken had been present, the Judge gave up the point. He had now two volumes of the records of the Society which had not been produced at the meeting of the Society or at the former meeting of the committee. By these it appears that in 1806 the oath had been abolished and the solemn promise of secrecy substituted in its place, and that

the promise of assisting a brother with life and fortune had been discarded, and that in 1825 an entire new system of laws had been adopted, compiled by Edward Everett. The report of Judge Story confirmed the whole of this code, with two or three exceptions, and I objected that although I was not aware of any change which I should wish to be made in the existing laws, yet I was equally unprepared to report a confirmation of what I had not read, and exceptions for which I did not see the necessity. Every vote was, however, carried against me, and even Colonel Baldwin, who was averse to any alteration, voted for the report and every article of it, to avail himself of the objections against every article, and thereby secure, if possible, against the whole a vote of rejection. Judge Jackson did much the same, though he said not one word against the article to abolish the secrets and promises. I asked Judge Story for a copy of these two articles, which he gave me, and I told him that when the report should be made I should move to lay it on the table and take up those articles alone. And I said my object would be to limit the discussion to them, fearing that by scattering it over several other objects the sense of the Society upon that could not be obtained. He said that nothing would be done; that there was a great diversity of opinion among the members upon the abolition of the secrets, and that there was an opposition organizing against the whole measure. The Judge said that the members elect of the class now commencing Seniors at the university had declined accepting the membership, burdened as it now is with a tax of fifteen dollars each on admission, to defray the expenses of the anniversary. The report proposes to discard the medal and ribbons, and that the expenses shall be defrayed as the Society may from time to time direct. I suggested the expediency of retrenching many of the expenses, such as the band of music, and even the dinner. The consideration of this was postponed. When the article for changing the mode of election was apparently about to pass, I moved as an amendment to it that everything having reference to *friendship* as being one of the objects of the institution should be expunged, leaving it a mere literary society. This struck them disagreeably, and I assured them I proposed it

only as what appeared to me a consistent consequence following from the change in the mode of election. A society of friends should admit no new member but with the unanimous consent of all the old; a society merely literary may exist without any other link of association. The report, however, was adopted, and is to be made to the Society at their adjourned meeting next Thursday.

On my arrival at home, about sunset, I found there a man who said his name was Joshua Colburn; that he had been a scholar at Harvard University, but was now a clerk in a counting-house. He had been sitting waiting for me from three o'clock in the afternoon. He said he had accidentally gone into a printing-office, where he had seen a pamphlet which he thought calculated to do very great injury to me, and he had urged the printer not to publish it; that he was himself a warm friend to me and my character; that it was known from Maine, from New Hampshire, and other States that it was expected I should be nominated by the Anti-Masonic Convention to be held next month at Baltimore for election to the Presidency of the United States; that the Masons knew of this pamphlet, and would circulate immense numbers of them; that many thousands of them were ordered from New York, Philadelphia, and the Southern and Western States; that the printer was a poor man, and said he did not want to hurt me, but that printing was his profession, and he must live by it; that David Henshaw, the Collector at Boston, and Nat. Green, the Postmaster, had ordered great numbers of the pamphlet, and the Jackson men and the Masons would circulate it all over the country.

I asked him who had printed the pamphlet. He said, Joseph Homer. I asked whether he was of the firm of Beals & Homer. He said, no; but they would support him in issuing the publication. I asked him who had informed him that Henshaw and Green had bespoken so many of the pamphlet. He said, Mr. Doolittle. I asked him how it was expected to suppress a pamphlet of which so many copies had been ordered from all parts of the country. He said the copyright would be worth about five thousand dollars; but that the edition that had been printed would not cost so much; that not one copy

of it had gone out of the printer's hands, and he was willing to sell the whole of it.

I told him the printer had deceived him if he had told him that not one copy of it had gone out of his hands, for I had a copy of it myself. I believed the pamphlet was full of falsehoods; but if events in which I had no part, and over which I could have no control, were to injure my character, I could not help it. If the Jackson men and Masons were apprehensive that I should be nominated by the Anti-Masonic Convention at Baltimore, they might set themselves at ease. I had no reason to believe that any of the Anti-Masons had such intention, but directly the reverse. But, however that might be, I would not give one dollar to suppress anything that any human being can publish of me, true or false. Mr. Colburn then took his leave, and went away. Henshaw and Green are at the bottom of this, as they were of the Cunningham correspondence. Their sting is now envenomed by the fear of losing their places. There is also Masonic charity in the cup.

10th. Mr. Curtis and Dr. Phipps called this morning to consult with me concerning two letters which they had received from the publishers of my oration in Boston. The copyright was taken out in the name of Messrs. Phipps, Curtis, and Seaver, and the publishers agreed to pay them a certain graduated percentage upon the numbers sold. The editors of the National Intelligencer, of the New York Spectator, and Commercial Advertiser have published the whole oration; and the Boston publishers suggest the enquiry whether suits should not be brought against them for violation of this copyright.

I said there could be no doubt that the publication was a breach of copyright by the editors of the newspapers, but whether in such a case a jury would give, in damages, a sum sufficient to pay the costs of the suit might be doubted. Fourth of July orations were generally considered as public property, and copyrights of them had seldom been taken out. I had, besides, understood Mr. Lord that he had sent copies to several publishers of newspapers, with express permission to publish from them any extracts they pleased. These permissions might be produced against him, even by others than

those to whom they had been granted, at least in mitigation of damages; and it was very doubtful whether the damages recovered would be sufficient to pay the costs and charges of a suit. I thought the best course for the printers would be to write to the editors of the newspapers who have published the whole oration, complaining of the breach of copyright as to professional brothers, and asking from them some compensation for the injury.

11th. I went into Boston early this morning, and immediately attended the meeting of the *Φ. B. K.* Society. In the morning it was held in the hall of the American Academy, in State Street. I met, in the room below, Judge Story, the Chairman of the committee, who had a short article prepared for his report in place of that which was rejected in committee on Monday, and who seemed to think it absolutely necessary to make the report itself entire. I agreed that he should report it. Mr. Edward Everett, the President, immediately called the meeting to order. The report was read, upon which Mr. Everett requested Mr. S. C. Phillips, of Salem, to take the chair, in committee of the whole. I then immediately moved that the report of the committee should be laid on the table, to take up two resolutions which I offered, which were, to remove all injunction of secrecy by the Society upon any present member, and no secret of any kind should ever be imposed, or promise exacted, from any member to be admitted hereafter. There arose immediately questions of order, whether this motion could be received in committee of the whole; and I finally varied it by moving to amend the report by striking it all out except the introductory words, and to insert my two resolutions in the place. This brought on the whole discussion. I assigned my reasons for my motion, which were: first, that I thought no other alteration of the constitution and laws of the Society necessary but the abolition of secrets and promises; secondly, that I disapproved all the other alterations proposed in the report; and, thirdly, that I wished to keep the discussion confined to those objects alone, apprehending that if the whole report should be debated it would be only a waste of time, and that nothing would eventually be done.

There was much discussion upon forms, and finally the committee rose, and reported that they had come to no resolution. The President resumed the chair, with a general assent that he should, without leaving it again, be at liberty to enter into the debate. I renewed my proposition to strike out and amend the report, which Judge Story, Edward Everett, and S. C. Phillips opposed. I was not sustained by any one. At last Theophilus Parsons moved that the whole subject should be indefinitely postponed; and made a speech to sustain his motion somewhat rude and personal upon me. He said it would be remembered that at the former meeting of the Society I had made the same motion which I had now repeated, and that after a full and thorough discussion of the subject my motion had received the solitary vote of the mover; that a respectable committee had been raised to make report at this meeting; they had now reported, and the first thing I did was to renew the very same motion which had already been unanimously rejected. This, he thought, would be highly disrespectful to the committee; that the reason I had assigned for the abolition of secrecy was only that there happened to be at this time a popular excitement against it, which he thought was the very reason for retaining it.

Alexander H. Everett then rose to speak, and an objection was made that upon a motion of indefinite postponement there could be no debate. He persisted, however, and, with much opposition, observed that Parsons had made a motion said to admit of no debate, but was allowed to make a speech with it, not only debatable, but departing from the subject to cast personal reflections upon me. He was then allowed to proceed so far as to say there was nothing disrespectful in proposing a substitute for the report of a committee.

Parsons was now silenced, and, after much debate, my proposition was rejected, and the report was again taken up. It was near two o'clock. Parsons crossed the room and whispered to Judge Jackson, who shortly after renewed the motion for an indefinite postponement of the whole subject, and again sustained his motion by a speech, which could not be answered, because the motion admitted of no debate. Of this I com-

plained, and, with the assent of Judge Jackson, was allowed to answer his argument; which was, that the secrets of the Society ought not to be removed, because it would be yielding to a mere momentary popular clamor; that there was nothing worth retaining in the secrets themselves, but that to abolish them in deference to an artificial excitement got up among the people was unworthy of the Society.

I answered, in substance, first disclaiming all intention of disrespect to the committee, and taking no other notice whatever of Parsons's speech. I then replied to Judge Jackson that the excitement to which he had alluded was the very reason why I earnestly desired the abolition of the secrets—to relieve the Society from the odium of holding them. I considered the excitement prevailing in the public mind on this subject just and well founded. I believed it would increase and prevail more and more; that if we disregard it now it will press upon us again, till we shall be obliged to do upon compulsion that which would now be voluntary. I observed that Judge Jackson had voted in committee for the whole report, and for these articles particularly. He approved, then, of the abolition of secrecy. He thought it right. He agreed with the principle upon which the public feeling was excited; but, because a large portion of the people, in addition to this sense of right, had a deep, anxious, and earnest feeling on the same side, he was now for setting both the feeling and the right at defiance. He would reject that which he approved because it was intensely desired by multitudes who approved it also. This was a process of logic widely different from that which was natural to the Judge's mind, and to which I hoped he would not, upon full consideration, adhere.

He replied that he had indeed agreed to the whole report, but this was the article that he liked least in it, or rather he disliked it.

Judge Story spoke also very earnestly against the postponement, and the vote was of more than two to one against it. The meeting then adjourned, to meet at four in the afternoon at the Athenæum lecture-room.

Timothy Fuller told me I had Jonathan Russell'd Judge

Jackson; but I doubt whether I should have carried the vote against him if Judge Story had not on this question been with me.

On leaving the hall, I met Alderman R. D. Harris, whom I informed that I should be ready to deliver the eulogy on Mr. Monroe either the 24th or 25th of this month. He said the examination of the public schools would be on the 24th; that my day might be either the 23d or the 25th. I told him either would suit me. He promised to consult the Council and let me know the result.

I asked him *where* they proposed it should be. He said they had first thought of Faneuil Hall, but, as that place was not favorable for the voice, they now probably would choose the Old South Church, which I told him would suit me better than Faneuil Hall. I asked him if they intended to have any religious solemnities. He said, perhaps a prayer by the eldest clergyman in the city. I said that Mr. Monroe having been of the Episcopal Church, it might perhaps be proper to have parts of their funeral service read; to which he said he would attend.

At four P.M. attended the adjourned meeting of the *Φ. B. K.*, at the Athenæum lecture-room. The report of the committee was taken up and debated article by article. The articles for abolishing all secrecy in future were not contested. James T. Austin proposed an addition removing all injunction of secrecy upon present members; which was adopted. The main debate was upon the change in the mode of election from a unanimous vote to two-thirds. I opposed the change with great earnestness. Judge Story and Edward Everett supported it with equal fervor—the Judge in a long speech. Colonel Baldwin made a few remarks against the change, and moved to strike out the article from the report. No other member supported me, and James Savage, who had not attended any of the other meetings, was there, and replied to me in aid of Story and Everett. Mr. Gould moved that the proportion of votes for election should be nine-tenths; but that was rejected. It was drawing towards sunset when the vote was taken, and was a tie, thirty-two and thirty-two, which Everett, the President, decided was a vote against striking out, though I claimed that

it was a vote against the article, which ought not to be adopted but by a positive majority, and referred to the practice of the old Congress, where the question upon words moved to be stricken out always was, Shall the words stand? and a positive majority was required or they were stricken out. The vote, however, was taken upon each article separately, and, on coming to that, Dr. Lowell moved that the proportion of two-thirds should be struck out and three-fourths inserted, which prevailed, and then the article was adopted by a very small majority. All the remainder of the report was accepted, and a vote passed that the expenses of this year's anniversary celebration should be paid from the fund of the Society, with a small assessment upon the class now to be graduated. The meeting closed after sunset, and I then immediately returned to Quincy. I received this morning a note from Mr. Madison, acknowledging the receipt of the copy which I had sent him of my Fourth of July oration. The seal was the initials of his name, and the motto, "Veritas, non verba magistri."

16th. I went into Boston. I called at Lord and Holbrook's, and had conversation with Mr. Lord respecting the republication in several newspapers of my Fourth of July oration, by an infringement of the copyright. Many thousand copies of it have been thus disseminated; but Mr. Lord did not appear disposed to go to law for the vindication of his right. I dissuaded him from it, and advised him rather to ask compensation from the trespassers as professional brethren interested themselves in the protection of copyrights. He said he would write to them and request them to advertise some of the books which he has upon sale, particularly William Sullivan's Moral Class Book, just published, and of which he showed me a copy.

I told him I had a manuscript which I should perhaps bring to him to ascertain whether he would publish it, and upon what terms. I wished him to read it himself, and place it for the perusal of some person in whose literary taste and judgment he should have entire confidence, but without informing him from whom it came, and, after consulting him, to determine whether he would publish, and upon what terms. He said he should recur to Mr. Pierpont, the clergyman; and I told him

he could not apply to a person in whom I should more entirely confide. After dinner I went with my son Charles and James H. Foster to the Old South Church, and there read about one-fourth part of my eulogy, which took me three-quarters of an hour, and exhausted my strength, so that I could proceed no further.

18th. Finished the eulogy upon James Monroe. I have been obliged to abridge this, and have omitted much of what I wished to say. It is now so long that more than half of it must be suppressed at the delivery; and yet I shall be much perplexed to select the part to be spoken. A much more serious inconvenience is that I have not time to write it over a second time, and it will be a performance much more crude than the Fourth of July oration.

21st. I answered a letter from Stephen Bates, making enquiries concerning a letter from my father in answer to an address from the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts in 1798. A man by the name of Sheppard, on the 24th of June last, delivered an address to a Masonic lodge at Wiscasset, which is published as a defence of Masonry. He adduces this letter of my father's as a testimonial to the excellence of the order. Bates is reviewing it in the Boston press, and enquires what I know concerning it. Sheppard in his notes is personally abusive upon me. Without noticing this in my answer to Bates, I have shown the absurdity of an appeal to my father, who never was a Mason, as authority in favor of the institution. I have authorized Bates to publish my letter if he pleases.

22d. This afternoon Mr. Henry Holton Fuller and Dr. Gamaliel Bradford, members of the *Φ. B. K.* Society, came, and informed me that many members of the institution not present at the late meetings had been much dissatisfied with the article of the new constitution altering the mode of election—altering the requisite of a unanimous vote to a majority of three-fourths; that several of them had determined to propose a reconsideration and repeal of that article at the annual meeting the day after Commencement; that they wished to write a circular letter inviting the attendance of all the members, and were desirous that I should sign it. I was very much surprised at

this application. After four days of hard debate, in which I had not been sustained by a single voice, and had been repeatedly outvoted, I had given up the cause as perfectly desperate, and fully acquiesced in the change, which I heartily disapproved. I told these gentlemen that I would attend at the annual meeting, and would vote for the reconsideration and repeal; but that I must decline signing the circular invitation, as it would have in me the appearance of an obstinate perseverance in my own opinions against the declared sense of the majority of the Society, and would look also like a personal opposition to the earnest wishes of Judge Story and of Edward Everett, for both of whom I entertained an affectionate regard and esteem. They appeared to be well satisfied; and Dr. Bradford, on taking leave, claimed kindred with me, as a descendant from John Alden.

25th. Finished my version of the 17th Psalm—a very bad one. I met Mr. Joseph E. Sprague, of Salem, who went in and sat with me upwards of an hour, conversing upon politics. The recent elections in Kentucky have turned out less favorably to Mr. Clay than his friends had expected, and the party here who obtained for him a nomination in Legislative caucus last winter are somewhat discouraged at the prospects before them. Mr. Sprague asked me what they should do. I answered him that, as he spoke with me confidentially, I would answer him in perfect confidence. By their Legislative caucus nomination of Mr. Clay for the Presidency last winter, they had put it out of their power now to choose what they would do. He said that was altogether the act of General Dearborn. I said they had further kicked and buffeted the Anti-Masonic party till it was impossible they should support Mr. Clay, and they could not fail to lose by that operation from sixty to seventy Electoral votes. I alluded to the election of county Senators in the Legislature last May, particularly that of a Senator for the county of Plymouth—a Jackson man preferred to a National Republican, who had from three to four hundred more of the votes of the people. He said that was an imposition upon the Legislature, and they had much regretted their choice when they found it out.

I said it proved, then, that they were acting under an influence of which they were not aware; and it was Masonry. I asked him if he was a Mason. He said he was an Anti-Mason. I said I did not see, then, how he could support Mr. Clay, who was now the head of the united Masonic and so-called National Republican party.

He said Mr. Clay must be withdrawn. Since the Kentucky elections, it was clear he could not succeed. He finally said he wished to bring out Mr. Madison and me—which I well understood, but made upon it no remark. I said I had spoken to him with the utmost confidence, with the express understanding that what I said should be exclusively between him and me. It was upon the supposition that what he said to me had been upon his own account alone. I had never been consulted, and never desired to be consulted, upon the movements of the party since the 3d of March, 1829. But that if he wished to ask my opinions for any other than himself, I was willing to give them, upon condition of knowing by whom, and for whom, they were asked.

After he left me, I went to the Old South Church, to examine the arrangements made there for the performance. Met there Alderman Harris and Mr. McCleary, the City Clerk. The house was dark, and I strongly apprehended that as the night should come on, I should not be able to get through with my discourse. The procession was to go from the State-House at half-past three, and I was to have walked with it; but there came on a very heavy rain, and I went with Mrs. Adams and Charles in a hack. At the door of the house, in getting out of the carriage, my wife fell upon the sidewalk-pavement, but was saved in falling so as to have apparently received no injury. The inner door of the church was so faithfully kept shut that it was with difficulty I obtained admission. Mr. Doane and Mr. Croswell, ministers of the Episcopal Church, soon came into the pulpit. The procession moved from the State-House at the appointed time, and came through a pouring rain—entering the church about a quarter-past four. A voluntary on the organ, and the prayers of the Episcopal service, with a long occasional one, composed by Mr. Doane, made it full five before I began.

The house was crowded to suffocation; the heat excessive; crowds of people at the church-door, wrangling and fighting to get in; trucks, wagons, and carriages rolling over the pavement in the streets adjoining the church all the time I was speaking; and, as the sun went down, it grew so dark that it was becoming impossible for me to read my manuscript. I was forced to read so rapidly that my articulation became indistinct, and my voice and my eyes, both affected by the state of the atmosphere, were constantly threatening to fail me. My situation was distressing; but I pushed on. I shortened the discourse much more than I had intended, and finally overleaped ten or twelve pages at once. They lighted at last the two lamps at the sides of the pulpit, and I got through in an hour and a half, omitting more than half of what I had written. There was constant attention in the auditory—occasional applause, in one or two instances long-continued and repeated.

Mr. McCleary came up, and, observing that the auditory had been highly delighted, asked if I would join the returning procession; which I declined. Mr. Eastburn, the city printer, came and bespoke the printing; which I promised him he should have. As soon as the church was thinned off, I found my family, returned to Charles's house, and thence immediately to Quincy, my heart full of gratitude for having escaped an ignominious failure. Such a variety of discouraging circumstances had occurred that my anxiety was overweening. I was thoroughly exhausted and relieved.

26th. Deacon Spear showed me a circular printed invitation to him to attend a Convention, to be held the 1st of next month, at Worcester, to agree upon a candidate for Governor of the Commonwealth the ensuing year. This is called a Jackson Convention; and the circular is signed by Ebenezer Seaver as Chairman, and John Henshaw as Secretary. I asked him if he proposed to attend the Convention.

He said, no; it would take time and money, and he did not choose to trouble himself for a cause in which there would be no profit to himself. He said Seaver had promised to appoint him an assistant for taking the census, and then had appointed

another man; and this seems to have quite extinguished the Deacon's Jacksonism.

Mr. James, a member of the Common Council of Boston, came out this afternoon with Mr. Eastburn, the city printer, and brought me a letter from Alderman Oliver, Chairman of the committee of arrangements, enclosing the joint resolution of the Boards of Aldermen and Common Council requesting a copy of my eulogy for the press. I gave Eastburn the copy from which I had spoken, promising to send in to-morrow morning one sheet which I had omitted from that copy, but which I propose to publish with the rest. Eastburn said he would send me the proof-sheets from day to day. The City Council bespeak from him one thousand copies, five hundred of which are to be furnished to me.

27th. This afternoon Dr. Phelps and Mr. Odiorne came out from Boston to see me, as a committee from the Anti-Masons of Boston. They said they had learnt with regret the positive determination of Mr. Rush to decline the nomination for the Presidency of the United States by the Anti-Masonic Convention which is to assemble at Baltimore on the 26th of next month; that, since his refusal had been known, their attention had been drawn to me, and they came to enquire if, in the event of my being nominated by that Convention, I would accept the nomination. Dr. Phelps showed me at the same time a letter from Pittsburg, in Pennsylvania, urging the expediency of ascertaining my sentiments upon Masonry, and of proposing me to the Convention.

I told them that I presumed my sentiments on the present questions between Masons and Anti-Masons were sufficiently known to them; and that I had authorized Mr. Bates to publish a letter from me, which would leave no doubt of my views upon this subject on the mind of any man who should read it. I had supposed it would be published before this, and knew not why it had not been. I read the letter to them from my own letter-book. As to the nomination, I neither desired it nor even the office of President of the United States itself. I would give no pledge and make no promise to any man, or body of men, to obtain it. Nor should I feel myself called upon to decline a

nomination, either by a single individual or by any body of men. I never had asked, and never should ask, the vote of any person for any office. I saw no necessity for declining any nomination which any one might please to make. I had no reason to believe that the Anti-Masons had thought of me anywhere, and I regretted that Mr. Rush had declined the nomination offered to him, because I believed it would have been unanimous. I was very apprehensive it would not be so now; and if they should propose my name, my only entreaty was, that they should not press it one instant after ascertaining that any other name would be likely to receive a more unanimous vote. With this they declared themselves entirely satisfied, and left me.

30th. I wrote a short letter to S. L. Gouverneur, at New York, returning to him the papers which he had sent me some weeks since, which were—1, a letter from John Rhea, of Tennessee, to James Monroe, dated in June last (a copy); 2, copy of a letter from Mr. Gouverneur to W. Wirt, asking his advice whether this letter should be shown to Mr. Monroe, who was then drawing fast to his end; 3, two original letters from Mr. Wirt, in answer, urging very earnestly that the letter of Rhea should be shown to Mr. Monroe; 4, copy of a declaration of Mr. Monroe, attested by two witnesses, and solemnly denying the truth of Rhea's statement. I have retained copies of Rhea's letter, and of Mr. Monroe's declaration contradicting it. There is a depth of depravity in this transaction at which the heart sickens. A total disregard to truth is chargeable upon so many men of the very highest standing in this age and country, as well as in all others, that in the estimation of the world it seems scarcely to carry with it an imputation. But the working up of a circumstantial fabrication, by practising upon the drivelling dotage of a political parasite, is beyond the comprehension of an honest mind. Jackson's excessive anxiety to rest the justification of his invasion of Florida upon a secret, collusive, and unconstitutional correspondence with Mr. Monroe can be explained only by an effort to quiet the stings of his conscience for the baseness of his ingratitude to me. Writhing under the consciousness of the return which he has made to

me for saving him from public indignation and defending him triumphantly against the vengeance of Britain and Spain, the impeachment of Congress, the disavowal of Mr. Monroe, and the Court-martial of Calhoun and Crawford, he struggles to bring his cause before the world and before posterity upon another basis. This basis is itself as rotten as his own heart. It is, that his conquest of Florida was undertaken and accomplished, not, as I had successfully contended for him, upon principles warranted by the law of nations and consistent with the Constitution of the United States, but by a secret fraudulent concert between him and Mr. Monroe, in direct violation of the Constitution and of all its conservative principles. To establish this, he resorts to his own unprincipled letter, which I never saw; to the recreant desperation of Crawford, and to the ravenous imbecility of John Rhea; he has succeeded with them both—both have made themselves, by impudent, unblushing falsehoods, panders to his unnatural passions; and to glut his revenge upon me, for benefits such as he never received from any other man, he has been laboring not only to blast the good name of Mr. Monroe, but to cover with infamy his own. His moral perceptions are so confused and discomposed by his convulsive passions, that, in his eagerness to throw off his obligations to me and to ruin the reputation of Mr. Monroe, he blinds himself entirely to the inevitable recoil upon himself. It is fortunate that Mr. Monroe lived and retained his faculties to make a solemn and authentic declaration of the total falsehood of John Rhea's abominable statement.

31st. I went to Cambridge. Alighting at the entrance of the college yard, I met Commodore Hull, just from Washington. I went into the library-chamber, where I met the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, many members of the Corporation and Overseers, President Quincy, and a number of strangers. There was a meeting of the Overseers, at which the honorary degrees proposed to be conferred this day by the Corporation were confirmed—Judge Hopkinson and Peter A. Jay to be Doctors of Laws. The procession was formed, and I walked with Judge Davis. The merit of the performances was beyond the usual average. Of the under-graduate

performances, the two orations of Eames and Simmons were most remarked, with one part of a conference by Wendell Phillips, the youngest son of my old friend and associate, John Phillips. I thought, however, that there had been rather too great a transition from tameness to over-vehemence in the delivery, and that there was a corresponding change discernible in the composition, now somewhat exceptionable for exaggerated sentiments and startling paradoxes. I made the remark to Judge Davis, at whose side I sat; but he said he thought paradox was the usual defect of commencement compositions. The English oration for the Master's Degree, by Hillard, affected me beyond expression. I thought it the most beautiful and pathetic effusion that I had ever heard. The Latin Valedictory, by Chapman, was short, and with touches of pleasantry, which closed the performances of the day with much good humor. The degrees were then conferred—Bachelors and Masters of Arts, and Doctors of Medicine. Then the procession proceeded to the college dining-hall, where the dinner was succeeded by the singing of the 78th Psalm; tune, St. Martin's. Grace was said by Mr. Day, the President of Middlebury College, Vermont, and thanks returned by my old class-mate, Dr. Hezekiah Packard, whom I recognized only on enquiring who he was, after he had performed that ceremony. He was the only class-mate whom I met in the course of the day. Among the strangers present were Mr. Berrien, late Attorney-General of the United States, Joseph M. White, the delegate from Florida, Mr. Legaré, from Charleston, South Carolina, and others. Before leaving the hall, C. H. Warren told me there would be a meeting of the members of the *Φ. B. K.* this evening at Concert Hall, which I was requested to attend; which I promised to do. I then visited President Quincy's, where a numerous company were assembled. At dusk of evening I returned to Boston, and, after a few minutes of repose, attended the meeting at Concert Hall. About forty members attended. I was chosen Chairman, and, after observations by several members, a resolution was adopted requesting the members present to attend the *Φ. B. K.* meeting to-morrow and support a resolution to repeal the article

of the new constitution adopted at the meeting of the 11th instant, authorizing elections of members by three-fourths of the voters present, and to restore the rule requiring unanimity for election. A vote passed requesting me to offer this resolution; but I stated the necessity that I should be under of attending the Boylston prize declamations, and the consequent inability of attending the *Φ. B. K.* meeting at its opening. It was finally determined that Dr. Bradford should offer the resolution; and I promised to attend the meeting if possible before a vote should be taken. I suggested the expediency of having the proposition requesting the restoration of the old rule signed by the members present; but upon this most of them left the hall, without opposing the proposal. The meeting adjourned about nine in the evening, and I went to Dr. George Parkman's, where there was an evening party. Governor Lincoln was there, Mr. Henry Middleton, Mr. White, of Florida, Mr. Clay, of Georgia, and many more.

Day. My occupations have discomposed the regularity of my course of life, and run this diary in arrears. Twenty-five days of the month I was swallowed up in the composition of the eulogy, having at the same time one stanza to produce every morning in the version of Psalms, and an average of one letter to write every day. During the preparation of the eulogy I was compelled to read so much for refreshment of my memory, and for consultation, that it necessarily varied my employment, and my crippled hand often refuses its office for writing. The arrears of my diary make me uneasy lest I should find it impracticable to retrieve them. The time spent upon the oration and eulogy has not been lost or wasted. These are to remain as long as any work of mine. In each of them a valuable, immediate purpose was accomplished—by the first, the gratification of my townsmen; by the second, the discharge of a debt of friendship for myself, and of public gratitude to the memory of Mr. Monroe. Nor has it been without benefit to my own reputation. They have both succeeded far beyond my expectations, and beyond what I had dared to hope—not to give me popularity, but to acquire respect for my character.

September 1st. After an early breakfast, went with I. H. Adams to Cambridge. I found Ward N. Boylston at the door of President Quincy's yard, and gave him the recommendatory letter that I had written for him, with directions to attend at six o'clock to-morrow morning, to pass examination for his admission, and I told him I would attend in the course of to-morrow evening to ascertain the result of his examination. I then attended in the President's study the meeting of the judges of the Boylston prize declamations. There were present Mr. Bowditch, Mr. Ward, F. C. Gray, John Pickering, Mr. Palfrey, Judge Jackson, and Mr. Gould. There were two Juniors, ten Seniors, and two graduates of the year to contend for the prizes: of the last was Edward Cruft, who I had observed had no part in the performances of yesterday. There was a printed synopsis of the rules for the management of this foundation, in which the article designating the persons appointed to act as judges had totally omitted my name and all reference to me as one of them—though expressly appointed as one of them by Mr. Boylston in the foundation itself. I made this remark to President Quincy, who noticed it to Mr. Bowditch and said it should be corrected. The rules, it seems, were drawn up and printed in 1826. At nine o'clock we went into the meeting-house, which was not full; but of the auditory four-fifths were ladies. The declamations were all good—marked with the same merits and imperfections as the speaking of yesterday, excepting that this day there was no defect of memory, of which there were yesterday several instances. The selections were from Burke, Sheridan, Webster, Byron, and others—all modern orators—except True, of the Senior class, who had taken Paul's speech before Agrippa, and who spoke it with so general an impression of superiority that one of the first prizes was awarded to him by the judges at the first ballot. The other first prize, on a second ballot, was assigned to George Frederick Simmons, a Senior. The three second prizes were taken by Bennett, a Senior, Harrington, a Junior, and Edward Cruft, the graduate of the year. It appeared that during a part of his collegiate term he has not improved his time to the best advantage. There were several ballotings for the second prizes.

I did not return to the meeting-house to hear the announcement of the prizes, but attended the meeting of the Φ. Β. Κ. Society, where I found them discussing the resolution offered by Dr. Bradford, to restore the rule of requisite unanimity for the election of members. Mr. Everett, the President, was justifying himself from an imputation of unfairness in calling the meetings in Boston, at which the changes in the constitution had been made. There were about one hundred and forty members present, and Dr. Bradford's resolution was carried by a vote of at least a hundred. A motion was then made, and carried, for a committee of nine to revise the constitution again, and report at the next anniversary. A resolution was also adopted that hereafter no change of the constitution or laws should be made but at an anniversary meeting.

The Society then, at noon, went in procession to the meeting-house, where an oration was delivered by James T. Austin, upon the duties of the educated men of our country, and a poem upon liberality, by the Rev. Benjamin Kent, minister of Dunbury. The oration was a beautiful composition, and was equally well delivered. I was very much pleased with it; but there were some passages towards the close of it encroaching upon topics of theological controversy, which many thought not suited to the occasion, and which were offensive to a portion of the auditory, and to the orthodox members of the Society itself. They were not at all displeasing to me, and I was surprised at hearing how much dissatisfaction they had given. It is a very important attribute, the how, the where, and the when truths may be told to the benefit of the hearer and to the advantage of the speaker.

Mr. Kent's poem was satirical and witty. It occasioned great good humor and laughter, much at the expense of the personages figuring at Washington. The oration was two hours in the delivery; the poem about half an hour. I walked to the meeting-house with my class-mate, Packard, but he did not return to the chapel. After returning, the Rev. Henry Edes and the Rev. Mr. Crocker were put in nomination for election as members—both of Providence; Mr. Edes, as minister of the Congregational, and Mr. Crocker, of the Episcopal

Church there. Edes was proposed at the request of the branch of the Society at Providence, according to a rule established by joint consent of all the branches, he having been graduated at Cambridge. On two ballots for each of them, there was a single black ball against each. Mr. Edes was then proposed to be balloted for at the next anniversary meeting, and I proposed Mr. Crocker for the same further trial; for which I received the thanks of Dr. Wainwright, of New York. We then proceeded to dinner in the hall, where about ninety members attended. There were of invited strangers John A. King, Mr. Ray, Mr. Legaré, and Joseph Blunt. The dinner was jovial, convivial, and festive—Everett, the President, punning occasionally upon names. After one song and half a dozen toasts, I withdrew, and called at President Quincy's, where I found him with company at dinner. I told him I should come tomorrow evening to ascertain the success of Ward N. Boylston upon his examination, and I promised to attend on Saturday morning at the installation of Mr. Follen as Professor of the German Language and Literature.

2d. Visited at the Tremont House Mr. and Mrs. White, of Florida, and Mr. and Miss Middleton. White relates with much relish an interview recently held with the President, who manifested great alarm at an intimation he had received that White would publish some letters of his to Dr. Bronaugh, now in the possession of George Walton. Jackson's fear is for the spelling; and he told White that Walton was the greatest villain in the United States, except John C. Calhoun, for showing the letters. Middleton read me a letter from Daniel E. Huger, showing that the nullifiers of South Carolina are fully determined to proceed to the last extremities of civil war. He says that Langdon Cheves told him that his opinion was, the Union ought to be dissolved; that the interests of the North and South were incompatible and irreconcilable together; that South Carolina should wait till she could combine with her a sufficient number of Southern States, and then break off from the Union. He gave me the history of Cheves, checkered with vicissitudes, which account for his present desperation.

5th. I wrote to my son John, and also a letter to John C.

Calhoun, to be enclosed with copies of my last Fourth of July oration, and of my eulogy. Mr. Calhoun was a member of Mr. Monroe's Administration, and during its early part pursued a course from which I anticipated that he would prove an ornament and a blessing to his country. I have been deeply disappointed in him, and now expect nothing from him but evil. His personal relations with me have been marked, on his part, with selfish and cold-blooded heartlessness. Yet in his controversies of last winter I sustained him as far as truth would warrant against the profligate falsehoods of Crawford. Since the publication of my Fourth of July oration he has published what he calls his views of nullification, but has not been explicit in his exposition of them. I propose, by sending him my two discourses, to give him an opportunity, if he pleases, to discuss with me the question upon which we so essentially differ.

8th. Finished yesterday the version of the 18th Psalm, and began this morning upon the 20th, having already versified the 19th. This work comes on slowly but steadily. It exemplifies to me what I have often had occasion in life to remark—the power of perseverance—a power which, like other faculties of the mind, strengthens itself by exercise. It is a virtue of the first order, and, connected with the moral principle of undertaking none but honest ends, and with sagacity to select useful ones, is the certain indication of a great and good man. My own perseverance has been, and is, very imperfect. My purposes have been honest, so far as mortal may bear testimony to his honesty before God—honest, allowing for the involuntary self-deception of the heart; my judgment in selecting objects for persevering action exceedingly defective, and that has been the great drawback to my success in life. And by success I do not mean my own individual prosperity, for that, with great vicissitudes, has been far beyond my deserts; but I mean the success of usefulness to my fellow-creatures. I have wasted my perseverance upon trifling objects, the result of which could have no operation on the happiness of mankind. One of the best objects of practical perseverance with which a young man should begin life and pursue to its end is the keeping of a diary. This I began at

twelve years of age; but I have failed of perseverance in keeping it at least twenty times, and often for long and most important intervals. Few men, however, have in this point had perseverance equal to mine, and they were assuredly useful men. But I have filled my journals with trash, and with every whimsey that passed across my mind. This has been an idle waste of time, and a multiplication of books to no end and without end. I greatly doubt the usefulness of this end upon which I am now engaged—a metrical version of the Psalms—but I have ventured upon it, and persevere in it.

14th. Mr. Seward called upon me this morning, and I had with him a conversation of three hours. He is a member of the Senate in the State of New York, and a zealous Anti-Mason. He brought me a letter of introduction from Albert H. Tracy, also a New York Senator, and Anti-Mason. They were coming together to Boston, but Tracy was taken sick at Norwich, in Connecticut, where his father resides, and Mr. Seward came on thence without him. They are both members of the Anti-Masonic Convention to meet at Baltimore the 26th of this month, to nominate a candidate for the office of President of the United States, and have not made up their minds as to the person whom they will select. Mr. Seward told me that Mr. Henry Dana Ward, of New York, one of the most active Anti-Masons in the Union, had corresponded with Mr. Calhoun and with Judge John McLean to ascertain their sentiments concerning Masonry, and whether they would accept a nomination for the Presidency from the Anti-Masons; that both of them had in their answers declared themselves adverse to the institution of Masonry, but Mr. Calhoun's answers were otherwise unsatisfactory. Judge McLean had answered that he would accept the nomination if made; that with regard to the principles of his Administration if elected, he referred them to those upon which the General Post Office had been administered when under his charge. Seward said that Mr. Ward was satisfied with the result of this correspondence, though there had been some awkwardness by the publication of part of one of Judge McLean's letters. Mr. Ward was in favor of nominating him; that he found the Anti-Masons here were desirous

that I should be nominated; and that was the feeling of the Anti-Masons in Rhode Island.

I asked him if he had seen Dr. Phelps. He had, and had heard from him what had passed between the Anti-Masonic committee and me.

I repeated to him that I had not the slightest desire for a nomination, nor for the office of President of the United States itself; that I would not reject the nomination of the Convention if made, but my great concern was, that they should agree upon their candidate, and I was very apprehensive that they would not; and my special desire was that they should not for one instant adhere to me if there was any other person upon whom they could unite; and I could probably be more useful to their cause if they should not nominate me than if they should.

He said he believed there was no danger of their disagreeing with respect to the nomination of a candidate; that after determining to take such a step, they would be all sufficiently impressed with the necessity of union to sustain their cause to avoid splitting up into fragments. I lent Mr. Seward a pamphlet and two newspapers, which he promised to return before the end of the week.

18th. Mr. John Bailey came, who informed me that he was going to-morrow or Tuesday to attend the Anti-Masonic Convention at Baltimore, to meet on the 26th. He spoke of the nominations for President and Vice-President, and said he understood that Mr. Seward inclined to the nomination of Judge McLean; though he himself thought the best course would be to adhere to the nominations of the last election—me and R. Rush. I repeated that my first wish was that they should all agree, and the point of most importance by far was to unite upon the person who should have the greatest number of votes in his favor; that I had no desire either for the nomination or the office, and I wished the Convention so to understand. This is not only true, but I am convinced it would far more conduce to my individual comfort that I should totally withdraw from all concern with public affairs; and I could apply far more profitably my time.

19th. Mr. Peter Whitney brought a letter from Origen Bacheller to him, making enquiries concerning my father's religious opinions. Bacheller is in controversy with Robert Dale Owen about Christianity. Owen is a free-thinker, perhaps an atheist, and in one of his publications claims my father as an infidel, just as Sheppard claims him for a patron of Masonry. Mr. Whitney said he should answer that my father was at the time of his death, and for many years before, a member, and he had often heard from him his religious sentiments. But Mr. Bacheller wished him also to make enquiry of me. I told him I had never heard my father utter a sentiment of infidelity in my life; that he was not a believer of the Athanasian Creed, nor of any of the doctrines usually called Calvinistic, but he was a firm believer in Christianity, upon a profound examination of all its evidences.

October 5th. Early this morning Mr. Francis Brinley and Mr. Amasa Walker came as a committee from the Anti-Masonic State Convention, consisting of committees from the several county conventions in the Commonwealth, and sitting at Boston, and announced that they had yesterday unanimously agreed to nominate me for election to the office of Governor of this Commonwealth for the ensuing year. The election is to take place on the second Monday of the next month. It is the first election under the adopted amendment of the Constitution of the State, by which the political year is to commence in January, and the Legislature are to hold only one annual session. They said they hoped I would accept the nomination, and that the Convention, yet in session, were anxious to receive my answer as soon as possible.

I desired them to assure the Convention of the grateful sense that I entertained of the confidence manifested in their offer of nomination, and of my regret that I felt myself bound in duty to decline it. Governor Lincoln was personally my friend, and I approved the general course of his Administration. I therefore could not permit my name to be set up in opposition to him, and I had earnestly hoped that the Anti-Masonic Convention would have nominated him. I ought in candor to tell them that I approved his answer to the letter which had been

addressed to him by their committee. I thought his opinions against the Masonic institution clearly and strongly expressed. There were, indeed, some passages relating to the course of the Anti-Masons which seemed to import censure upon them; but I believed it was not intended, and might easily be explained. I had hoped the Anti-Masons would be satisfied with his Anti-Masonic declaration, and had no doubt that in the course of the year events would have occurred which would have fixed him entirely with them.

Walker said it was to be regretted that they had taken other views, but, as they had done so, he presumed they would, in the event of my declining, make another nomination. Mr. Brinley made no remark upon my observations, but expressed a wish that I would give my answer in writing. I requested them to call again in half an hour—which they did, and I immediately wrote my answer. But they returned before I had time to have a copy of it made. I told them that, to avoid detaining them, I would give them the letter without waiting to take a copy; that if they should publish it I would take my copy from the publication, but if not, I should request them to furnish me with a copy; which they promised should be done.

10th. This evening we read a number of passages of poetry by American poets—Percival, Halleck, Dana, Bryant, Peabody, Willis—and a review of their compositions,[1] gravely settling the pretensions to precedence among them, and placing Dana at their head. Halleck has poetical powers, smothered by a burden of burlesque; Percival has half the property of a poet—wild and fanciful conceptions; Peabody has tenderness and pathos, for copies of verses; and Bryant has some talent at description. With the exception of Halleck, it would take nine such poets to make a Tate. There was an ode of Percival's, called Genius Waking, which has acquired some reputation. 'Tis Pindar's eagle, stolen from Gray, and scourged round the welkin, through every medium of passage, and, among the rest, through rocks. I read Gray's Bard and his Progress of Poesy, which I have always admired, not only as beautiful

[1] In the North American Review, vol. xxxiii. p. 297.

poems, but as the best English exemplifications of the Pindaric ode.

25th. Mr. Bailey was here this evening, and gave me some particulars of the proceedings of the Anti-Masonic Convention at Baltimore. From his account, the nomination of Mr. Wirt was a forlorn hope; the only expedient there was to exclude the nomination of John McLean, of Ohio, which Henry Dana Ward and the members of the Convention from New York had settled beforehand. Mr. Bailey was not satisfied with the proceedings at Baltimore, nor is he pleased with the nomination of a candidate for the office of Governor of this Commonwealth in opposition to Lincoln.

27th. I went to the Boston Press office, and directed that the paper should henceforth be sent to me at Washington. I found the Anti-Masonic committee assembled together, and had some conversation with them. They were flattering themselves that Mr. Clay would withdraw or be withdrawn as a candidate for the Presidency, and that Mr. Wirt would be nominated by the Convention to meet at Baltimore next December. I assured them it was impossible. Dr. Phelps showed me a letter from John C. Spencer, urging strongly that this should be done, as of infinite importance. Phelps asked me whether if I and Mr. Webster and Mr. Everett should advise Mr. Clay to withdraw he would not do so. I told him I should give Mr. Clay no such advice, nor did I believe that Mr. Webster or Mr. Everett would; but that, if we should, Mr. Clay would not take our advice. I believed, further, that Mr. Clay's party would not suffer him to withdraw if he would.

New York, 31st.—I received two successive invitations from Mr. Hamblin, the manager of the Bowery Theatre, to attend a representation there, with offers to select for performance any one of several plays which I should prefer. After once declining, I finally consented to go this evening, the performance to be without alteration for me, and no notice to be publicly given of my attendance. I received also a written invitation, signed by William Wilkins, President of the Tariff Convention, to attend at their meeting within the bar. I went accordingly about eleven o'clock; but, being alone, and having some

difficulty in finding the hall where they were in session, I finally went in among the spectators below the bar; and being seen there by Mr. James Tallmadge, one of the Vice Presidents, he came to me and introduced me to a seat immediately behind the President, within the bar. As I passed through the hall, the members all rose, and, on my taking the seat offered me, gave a general manifestation of applause. Mr. Charles J. Ingersoll, of Philadelphia, was reading an address to the people of the United States, in which he had made much progress, and which he continued to read for about an hour and a half longer. After the reading was closed, there was much applause, and short speeches made by several members; suggestions of slight amendments, to avoid reflections upon the Anti-Tariff Convention lately held at Philadelphia, and propositions for having forty thousand copies of the address printed by H. Niles, at Baltimore, one of the Secretaries of the Convention. This body consisted of upwards of five hundred and thirty members, but they have been sitting ever since the 26th, and I was told that upwards of an hundred members were already gone. Among the members I recognized Jonathan Roberts, H. W. Dwight, James De Wolfe, Joseph Hemphill, R. G. Shaw, James T. Austin, and some others. Mr. C. A. Davis began the reading of a report, and I came away.

At my lodgings, I received visits from B. W. Crowninshield, Dr. Wainwright, Dr. and Mrs. Beck, daughter of Major Tucker, and the Miss Tucker with whom I travelled on the 4th of December, 1829, from New York to Philadelphia, and to whom I then addressed some verses, which she never saw till Miss Roberdeau lately sent her a copy of them. She thanked me for them now. Mr. and Mrs. Hosack, Mr. Philip Hone, and the Rev. Mr. Matthews. I found a note from Mr. James Kent, late Chancellor of the State, inviting me to dine with him. After dinner, I paid visits to Mr. Gallatin, at whose house I met Jonathan Roberts, and to Mr. James Kent, whom I found in his study, and with whom I had curious conversation. He is preparing a new edition of his Law Commentaries; and, being in wit a man, in simplicity a child, we talked half wisely, half childishly, about his Commentaries; about civil and common

law; about Shakspeare, Yale College, the *Φ. B. K.* Society, and his address to them, and many other puerilities. I promised to dine with him to-morrow.

November 1st. Mr. Gallatin and Dr. Wainwright called upon me at ten, to accompany me to the meeting of the Literary Convention, to which I had received a printed circular invitation. They asked me if I should be willing to preside at the meeting. I told them I had understood that Mr. Gallatin had presided at the last year's meeting. He was certainly much more competent to the same service now than I, who had not been informed even of the objects of the meeting. They said Mr. Gallatin had not presided last year, but Mr. Bates, the President of the Middlebury College, and that, as the meeting was attended by a considerable number of gentlemen from other States, who came by invitation, it was thought particularly desirable that the President should not be a resident of New York.

I said in that case my services would be at the disposal of the meeting. I accompanied them immediately. The Convention was held at the Assistant Aldermen's room, in the City Hall. I was elected President of the Convention by nomination; Albert Gallatin and Edward P. Livingston, the Lieutenant-Governor of the State, were chosen Vice-Presidents; John Delafield and , Secretaries. For the proceedings of this Convention I must refer myself to the newspapers and to the pamphlet in which they are to be published. I found myself in a situation totally new and unexpected—called to preside over a meeting of literary men, held in public, to discuss subjects of literature and science, but of what specific character I had received no previous intimation. Of my unfitness for this station I had the most profound conviction, the meeting being not only public, but with stenographers attending to report the proceedings in several of the daily papers, besides Mr. Stansberry, employed to report for the Convention itself. I had come without the most distant idea of presiding, and intending rather to listen than to take an active part in the proceedings myself. What could I do but implore a blessing from Him who directs the steps of the man that walketh?

What can I do but abide in humble submission by his will? The meeting was opened by prayer. A letter was read from Professor Pesaro, and several letters of excuse and apology. After some initiatory proceedings, the meeting was adjourned till ten to-morrow morning.

2d. Attended the Literary Convention, morning and afternoon. A paper was read by Mr. Llevas, of the republic of Colombia, upon the subject of the state of education in South America generally, and in that republic especially. A committee was appointed to report a plan for a National Literary and Scientific Institution. A resolution that it is expedient to establish such an institution had been adopted by the last year's Convention. I was now placed upon this committee. After the adjournment of the morning, the committee met at the house of the Rev. Dr. James M. Matthews and discussed the plan. Questions were started what should be the title of the Society—academy, association, society, institute, institution, not very momentous which; whether the numbers should be limited; how divided into classes—whether of domestic and foreign members, of resident and honorary—and under what divisions of the sciences. The practice of the French Institute was referred to. Dr. Matthews undertook to draw up the report.

The Convention met at five in the afternoon, and the plan for a National Literary and Scientific Society was reported. There was some discussion upon the title to be adopted, but that point was soon postponed for further consideration; and the main debate, a warm one, was upon the question whether it should be of a limited number. It was half-past eight when the Convention adjourned.

I had yesterday received invitations to visit the libraries of the Mercantile and of the Mechanic Associations. A Mr. William Wood had called upon me with a letter from R. B. Brown, President of the Mercantile Library, and I had agreed to go whenever I should have the time; and this day I received a similar invitation to visit the Apprentices' Library, from John Stephens, Jr., President of that society. A second invitation this day from Mr. Brown included the members of the Convention, and I read it to them. The Presidents and a com-

mittee from both the societies attended the afternoon meeting of the Convention, and immediately after the adjournment I accompanied the committees and visited both the libraries and reading-room, as also the lecture-room of the American Lyceum. These are excellent institutions. The Mercantile Library is for the benefit of the merchants' clerks, and that of the Apprentices for the youth of the mechanic professions. At both I saw numbers of young men assiduously reading, and the catalogues of the books and several other pamphlets relating to both institutions were given me; also the pamphlet containing the proceedings of a Convention in May last to form an American Lyceum.

3d. The plan for a National Literary and Scientific Society was fully debated, and there was so much diversity and divergence of views upon exceedingly unessential, and even minute, topics, that they were on the point of taking a question to postpone the further consideration of the subject until the annual Convention of the next year, when I took the liberty of addressing to the meeting some remarks. I observed that at the last annual meeting of the Convention a committee had been appointed to examine and report upon the expediency of establishing such a society. That committee had reported a resolution to that effect, which was adopted by the Convention. They had therefore resolved that such a society should be instituted. The present Convention, concurring in that opinion, had appointed a committee to form a plan, which was now before the Convention for consideration. The public would certainly expect that this Convention should do something more. There were debates and diversities of opinions upon points which I thought could easily be conciliated. The organization of such a society would, after all, be a very simple thing. I presumed a constitution for it could be drawn up by a committee in twenty-four hours; but if, after having been postponed from the last year to this, it should again be postponed from this year to the next, I saw no other prospect than that it would be postponed indefinitely. If such an institution should be established here, its principal utility must be effected by the resident members. It might derive and confer benefit by assembling at

an annual meeting a few of its members from other parts of the Union. The fault of most of the institutions of this kind in the United States was, that they were little better than dead bodies. It was hardly worth while to create another of them; but much of the same character would it be to resolve every year that such a society should be instituted, and then leave it undone, to be debated again the next year, when other men would be here, to whom the subject will be new, as it was now to me, and who would have to go over again the ground that we have explored.

There was immediately proposed the appointment of a committee to draw up and report a constitution for the Society. Lieutenant Park, as a delegate from West Point, read a paper proposing a National Institute of a very extensive character, to be identified with this.

Mr. Ogilby, a young schoolmaster of the city, read a long paper upon a plan of instruction upon new principles, as exemplified in the school of a Mr. Jacotot, in Belgium. It was referred to a committee.

I dined at Dr. Wainwright's, and met there Mr. Peter A. Jay, David B. Ogden, Mr. Hone, and several other gentlemen. After dinner, at six, I returned to the Convention, which had been already an hour in session. Mr. Woodbridge was reading a report upon the expediency of introducing the Bible as a classic to be studied in schools and colleges. After the Convention adjourned, the committee to draw up a constitution met, and agreed upon the substance of the articles: Members not to exceed two hundred, resident and foreign members. Four classes: 1, mathematical and physical science; 2, moral and intellectual science; 3, literature; 4, fine arts. An electing committee of fifteen to constitute the Society. Application to be made to the Legislature of New York for an act of incorporation. President Fiske to draw up the constitution, including these heads.

4th. Mr. Ratcliff came again this morning, and I returned his manuscript memoir, which I had read. He descanted largely upon the practicability and expediency of a railway across the Isthmus of Panama, and said it would nowhere have

to encounter an elevation of more than three hundred feet. The principal obstacle to the undertaking is the unsettled political condition of the country.

Attended the Literary Convention. The constitution of the National Literary and Scientific Society was reported, debated, and adopted. The ninth and last article of it was thus: To originate the Society there shall be a committee of fifteen, to be appointed by this Convention, who, or a majority of whom, shall have power to elect eighty-five others, and these, with the committee, or so many of them as may assemble at the call of the committee, shall constitute the first meeting of the Society. This was adopted, and the names of the appointing committee of fifteen were proposed and voted in a mass. They were J. Q. Adams, President Fiske, Professor Vethake, Rev. Dr. Thomas McAuley, Professor Alexander, Mr. Henry E. Dwight, Professor Joslin, Hon. Edward P. Livingston, Chancellor Walworth, Rev. Dr. Wainwright, Hon. Albert Gallatin, Rev. Dr. Matthews, John Delafield, Esq., Rev. Dr. Milnor, and Mr. Halsey. A resolution was passed authorizing the committee to call the first meeting of the Society at such time and place as they may deem expedient, and that they take measures to obtain an act of incorporation. It was agreed that the Convention should adjourn to-morrow.

I did not attend this afternoon's meeting. In the decisive measures for constituting the Society, the only difficulties were in the committee; there were none in the Convention. Mr. Gallatin and other members had a repugnance almost invincible to assume the attitude of constituting ourselves a National Society of Literature, Science, and the Arts; and Mr. Gallatin proposed that we should elect a hundred members to constitute the Society, excluding ourselves altogether. I said it seemed to me that, under the appearance of a fastidious delicacy, this would be assuming much more than it would be to invite associates to join us in the formation of a society. For, while disclaiming all pretensions of literature and science ourselves, we should select one hundred men, without consulting them, and without concert among them, and summon them to constitute a literary and scientific society. We were placed in

the dilemma of forming a self-constituted society or passing a self-denying ordinance; and of the two I preferred the former.

5th. I attended the Literary Convention, which, after some closing business, and a prayer from Dr. Yates, adjourned without day. A vote of thanks was passed to the city corporation for the use of the hall, and to the President for the fair and impartial discharge of his duties. I returned my thanks as well as I was able, but with a mortified feeling of deficiency in words to express that which I would have said. My remarks were well received, and perhaps not the worse for their unpretending simplicity. That this business has gone through without discreditable exposure of incompetency for so high and distinguished a position I give thanks to God.

After the adjournment of the Convention, the committee for electing members of the Literary Society remained in session about an hour. Each member present gave a list of the persons in the United States whom he thought best qualified to be members of the institution, and they were classed each in one of the four divisions of the Society. I gave a list chiefly of citizens of Massachusetts. The members of the committee residents in the city of New York agreed to have a meeting next Thursday evening, to proceed further in making their selections.

From dinner I went and spent part of the evening with ex-Chancellor Kent, talking of his Commentaries, of Blackstone and Wooddeson, Mansfield, Pothier, Emerigon, and Valin, common law and civil law, Littleton's Tenures, and Justinian. I read to him my stanzas on the foot of Penn's Hill, which he approved, but which reminded him too much of both Gray's Elegy and of Goldsmith's Deserted Village. I also talked with him and his son of Shakspeare's Othello and Desdemona, Juliet, Imogen, and Miranda. I observed to him how much of the charm and interest of the tragedy of Romeo and Juliet depended upon the age of Juliet—a child in her fourteenth year; how emphatically the poet had marked that age; and how stupidly the stage-men had changed the age from fourteen to nineteen. I said I took little interest in the character of Des-

demona, whose sensual passions I thought over-ardent, so as to reconcile her to a passion for a black man; and although faithful to him, I thought the poet had painted her as a lady of rather easy virtue—very different from the innocence of Miranda or the rosy pudency of Imogen.

The Chancellor did not entirely agree with me in this estimate of Desdemona; his son still less. They thought better of my view of the character of Hamlet.

6th. After church I called upon Mr. William L. Stone, editor of the Commercial Advertiser, at his lodgings. He had sent me word by Mr. Stansberry that he was confined to his chamber by a severe attack of the influenza. I found him still in his chamber, though convalescent. I had a conversation of an hour with him upon the proposal which he had made to me of publishing, addressed to me, a series of Letters upon Masonry and Anti-Masonry. I asked him if I understood him well—that his object in that publication would be the abolition of the institution of Freemasonry in the United States. He said, certainly; that was, and had long been, his most earnest desire.

I then observed that I hoped he would take no views of the subject the tendency of which would be favorable to the continuance of the order. I had reference chiefly to a passage of his letter to me, in which he stated that one object of his publication would be to give a view of the good which Masonry had done, and was designed to produce, heretofore. I told him that since my last conversation with him a sermon by Lebbeus Armstrong had been put into my hands, in which it is charged, not positively as a fact, but as a report, that the Grand Generalissimo of the American Encampment wrote to some of the Western lodges directing that Morgan's publication must be suppressed, cost what it would, even to the shedding of blood. The Generalissimo of the American Encampment is not named; but it was De Witt Clinton.

Mr. Stone said Mr. Clinton had been grossly slandered upon this subject; that when the manuscript was fraudulently obtained from him, a special messenger had been employed to bring it to New York; that the Grand Chapter were then in session, and there were then delegations meeting with them from other

Grand Lodges in various parts of the United States; that Samuel L. Knapp was then a delegate from the Grand Lodge at Boston; that the messenger delivered the manuscript in great agitation; that it was referred to a committee, of which Knapp was Chairman, who reported that the manuscript was private property, and should be returned to the person to whom it belonged. And Stone said he never heard a severer rebuke than was then given by Mr. Clinton, who presided in the Chapter, to the messenger who had brought the manuscript and was very unwilling to take it back. This was on the 12th of September, and the messenger must have left Batavia before Morgan's arrest, which was on the 10th. This story of Morgan, in the hands of Scott or Cooper, would make a novel or romance of irresistible pathos; and what a drama would Shakspeare have made of it!

PHILADELPHIA, 9th.—I met Mr. H. Middleton, who came with me to my lodgings. I thanked him for the Russian platina coins he had sent me, and asked him many questions concerning this operation of the Russian Government—all of which he was unable to answer; but, he said, he would make enquiries for me of Count Cancrin, the Russian Minister of Finance. Mr. Middleton gave me also a copy of a printed letter from him to his constituents in South Carolina, who had elected him a delegate to the Anti-Tariff Convention lately held in this city.

I called upon Nicholas Biddle at the U. S. Bank, and received two dividends of my bank stock, by an order upon the branch bank at Washington. I left with Mr. Biddle my certificate of stock to be sold, and the proceeds to be remitted according to such directions as I may give. I told him that, as I might be called to take a part in public measures concerning the bank, and was favorable to it, I wished to divest myself of all personal interest in it. I endorsed my name in blank on the certificate.

11th. I met J. Sergeant, and went with him to dine at Nicholas Biddle's. A large party. I met there Messrs. De Tocqueville and De Beaumont, the Commissioners of the French Government, with whom I had dined at Alexander H. Everett's, in Boston; also Judges Baldwin and Hopkinson, Mr. Poindexter, Warren R. Davis, Charles J. Ingersoll, R. Walsh, and Mr.

Huntt, a brother of Dr. Huntt, of Washington. In the evening I attended a meeting of the American Philosophical Society, and met there Mr. Vaughan, W. Short, Dr. Chapman, Professor Keating, Mr. Richmond, Mr. Harlan, and some others. Audubon's late magnificent work upon American birds was there. The oriole of Baltimore is the fiery hang-bird. There were several new publications, among which Todd's New Method of Induction.

WASHINGTON, 13th.—I return to Washington with less tranquillity of mind than at the last and the preceding winter. That before me is of an aspect to which I look with an aching heart. One experiment which I have made upon this journey has been successful, as far as it could succeed—I mean that of employing my time. I have lost none. Since I left Quincy I have composed twenty-three stanzas of versions of the Psalms—all bad, but as good as I could make them.

16th. I received a printed circular letter from W. F. Otis, Nathaniel Brown, and George W. Bryant, a committee from a meeting in Boston got up to petition the Legislature to abolish imprisonment for debt. The circular is addressed chiefly to the clergymen of Boston; but the committee were authorized to send it to other individuals whomsoever they thought fit, and therefore sent one to me. I began writing an answer, but did not finish it. I began reading Bernard's Light on Masonry, and read the forms of admission of the Entered Apprentice and Fellow-Craft. It is matter of curious speculation how such degrading forms, such execrable oaths, and such cannibal penalties should have been submitted to by wise, spirited, and virtuous men. It is humiliating to the human character. Is it interest? fear? pride? the danger or the mortification of retreating? or is there something in the wild, incoherent mixture of pure morals and high religious devotion with secret and mystical rites and atrocious cruelty that has an irresistible influence over human action? The Mahometan religion is a memorable example of this. Some of the bloody sacrifices of antiquity are to be accounted for only thus. I cannot think of it but with melancholy feelings.

18th. Began the version of the 39th Psalm—one of those with

which I have found the greatest difficulty, and of which I have been obliged finally to put up with a complete failure. There are some of which the versification comes to me almost as easily as prose; some which I labor painfully for hours and give up in despair, substituting a mutilated fragment for the whole Psalm; and some upon which, after ranging through many varieties of expression altogether dissatisfactory, I finally alight upon a turn which pleases my fancy. There is an agitation of mind in this habit of composition resembling the intense interest of a gamester in the fluctuations of his fortune, and not unfrequently I am quite delighted with my success in producing a stanza, which, upon reperusal a week after, sickens me as flat, stale, and unprofitable.

I walked round the Capitol this morning. There was a double attack upon me this morning in the National Journal, which I take for the Clay declaration of war. It has been preceded by clandestine hostilities enough. I am still engaged in answering the circular from the committee on the question of imprisonment for debt. My opinions are not all favorable to their views, and it might be more prudent for me to give a short and unmeaning answer to them, evading in substance their question; but it is not in my nature. My life has been spent in stemming currents of popular opinions, and until lately with occasional and great success. But the runs of luck in life are as at whist. The tide in the affairs of men, when it has once begun to ebb, will go down. This free and bold expression of my opinion, which I disdain to withhold, will hasten my downward course, and nothing can redeem it. Let me fulfil my destiny, and, so far as may be possible, sustain my character.

21st. Finished my letter on imprisonment for debt, in which, without opposing the project of those who are pressing for the total abolition of it, I have endeavored to impress them with the necessity of providing some other substitute for the security which it gives to credit. In this light it has not been viewed by these gentlemen. They consider nothing but the popularity of relieving prisoners from jail. I shall surely get no thanks from any one for pointing to the consequences of

their innovation upon the security of property and upon fidelity to contracts, as well as upon credit.

22d. Read the remainder of Edward Everett's address to the New York Institute, and some pages of Opinions upon Masonry. This institution of Freemasonry is one of the phenomena in the history of mankind. That it is a most pernicious institution I am profoundly convinced; and how it has arisen and grown and spread over the world, and drawn into its vortex so many wise and good and great men, is scarcely credible. There is, however, a charm in secret and in exclusive association. In principle it is unjust, but in power it is great. Here is secrecy; here is the enjoyment of exclusive privilege; then come mystery, terrifying circumstances, horrid oaths and penalties, sprung upon the initiated by surprise, all mingled up with benevolence and charity, with pretensions to antiquity coeval with the creation; continual prayers and lessons from the Bible, mingled up with impostures about Solomon, Hiram King of Tyre, Hiram Abiff, John the Baptist, and John the Evangelist, as absurd and senseless as they are false. Religion, charity, pure benevolence, and morals, mingled up with superstitious rites and ferocious cruelty, form in their combination institutions the most powerful and the most pernicious that have ever afflicted mankind. They account for the prevalence of the Mahometan religion; they governed the crusading ages; they are in great part the foundation of the monastic institutions, and especially of the Jesuits. I believe Freemasonry to be an institution less than two centuries of age, but it has undoubtedly borrowed much from others of higher antiquity, and probably something from the Eleusinian mysteries.

25th. Mr. Everett is much concerned about Mr. Clay's prospects for the Presidency, but much gratified at his election to the Senate of the U. S. by the Legislature of Kentucky. He spoke with much reserve upon the Masonic and Anti-Masonic controversy; and more freely about the election of a Speaker to the House of Representatives. He has an extreme aversion to Andrew Stevenson, the Speaker of the two last Congresses; and inclines to vote for Joel B. Sutherland, a man of Stevenson's own party, but exceedingly eager to supplant him. They be-

long to the two classes of men of whom Hamlet says, there is not a man in all Denmark included in the one but is entitled also to rank with the other. But they are "primi inter pares"—worthy competitors to preside over the Representatives of the nation.

26th. Morning visit from Dr. Sewall. Had conversation with him upon the different modes of warming rooms. I told him I had a suspicion that the anthracite coal emitted into the atmosphere a subtle and impalpable dust, which settled upon the lungs and occasioned inflammation, colds, and coughs. And, generalizing the remark, I expressed my opinion that all the modes of warming the atmosphere in cold weather had material influence upon the health; and especially upon all persons with weak lungs. I advised him to write a dissertation or lecture upon the subject—which he seemed much inclined to do; and I thought it would come within the scope of Count Rumford's donation to the Academy of Arts and Sciences at Boston for prize dissertations on heat.

He enumerated the different modes of warming rooms, by coal of various kinds, by wood of various kinds, by open chimneys, by grates, by heated stoves of brick and of iron, by charcoal, and by heated air circulated through pipes and flues from fires below. Each of these processes for communicating artificial heat to the atmosphere must affect in different degrees the lungs by which it is breathed, and to these sources, I believe, may be traced a large portion of the consumptions which terminate so many lives.

I received this morning a printed invitation, signed by several inhabitants of this place, to attend a meeting at the City Hall at half-past six this evening, to consider the expediency of establishing a Lyceum in this city. I went accordingly. There were thirty or forty persons present. I was chosen Chairman. A committee of five were appointed to report a plan of constitution for a Lyceum; which they did, and it was adopted article by article. A committee was appointed to nominate officers. They nominated me for President, and Dr. Laurie for Corresponding Secretary. I desired to be excused, not being a permanent resident here, and, when here, much occu-

pied. I was excused, and Samuel Harrison Smith chosen President. The meeting passed a vote of thanks to me for presiding, and a member proposed that I should be elected an honorary member. I had entered my name as an ordinary member, and requested the mover to withdraw his motion; which he did. I came home between nine and ten. There is a letter in the newspapers from Mr. Clay, in answer to an Anti-Masonic committee in Indiana. He refuses to say what his sentiments upon Masonry are, because there is nothing about it in the Constitution of the United States.

December 2d. Visits from Mr. and Mrs. Hogan, and afterwards from Mr. Henry J. Tudor, and from his sister, Mrs. E. S. Gardiner, of Hallowell, Maine, now here upon a visit to their mother. Mrs. Tudor has been extremely ill, and has not yet wholly recovered. Mrs. Stewart is absent at Philadelphia. Mrs. Gardiner asked me to return the papers of her brother, William Tudor, which I have had several months, under engagement that I would write a memoir of his life for the North American Review. It was a long time after I had made this promise before these manuscripts were sent to me; and shortly afterwards, Mrs. Stewart advised that the publication of the memoir should be suspended, and finally Mrs. Tudor explicitly enough hinted that they preferred it should not be published at all. The points upon which they were specially sensitive were, an unwillingness that any notice should appear of the fact that Mr. Tudor had ever been engaged in commerce, which was his profession during a great part of his life; an aversion to the statement that he had been an informal political agent in Peru; and, still more, that he had been Consul of the United States at Lima, and not Consul-General in Peru. There was even an indisposition to have it appear that Mr. Tudor was at the time of his decease but a Chargé d'Affaires of the United States at Rio de Janeiro. The family would have had him an Ambassador, and would evidently have been displeased to have it told what he was, though with the most liberal and emphatic commendation of what he did. I had brought the manuscripts to Washington purposely to return them, and was glad that Mrs. Gardiner asked for them. I sent them all in this evening;

though Mrs. Gardiner had written me a letter to apologize for asking me to return them.

5th. The first session of the Twenty-Second Congress of the United States commenced. Half an hour before noon, I attended in the hall of the House of Representatives, and took the seat No. 203. At noon, the members were called to order by Matthew St. Clair Clarke, the Clerk of the House in the last Congress. The members were called alphabetically by States, and two hundred answered to their names; one or two more afterwards came in. The Clerk sent round the ballot-boxes to collect the votes for Speaker, and, when the boxes were returned to his table, asked Messrs. Bates, of Maine, Crawford, of Pennsylvania, and McCoy, of Virginia, to act as tellers. There were only one hundred and ninety-five votes returned, of which ninety-eight were necessary to a choice. Andrew Stevenson, of Virginia, had ninety-eight votes, and was declared to be chosen. Eleutheros Cooke, a member from Ohio, brought up his vote to the table after the other votes had been given in. The tellers refused to receive it. His vote was for Joel B. Sutherland, of Philadelphia, the principal competitor of Mr. Stevenson, who had fifty-four votes. If Cooke's vote had been received, Stevenson would not have been chosen at that ballot, and probably not at all. There were votes for John W. Taylor, eighteen; Wickliffe, fifteen; and some others would have rallied, after two or three ballots, upon Sutherland. The two candidates are both men of principle according to their interest, and there is not the worth of a wisp of straw between their value.

Phineas L. Tracy told me that he and his Anti-Masonic friends had agreed to vote for John W. Taylor, and I voted for him. I was pleased that there was not a second ballot; for I was unwilling to be brought to the test whether I would, under any circumstances, vote either for Stevenson or Sutherland. He seemed disposed to contest the election, and said he had known yesterday that Stevenson would have ninety-eight votes, and that he could not get one more. The Speaker was conducted to the chair by Mr. Newton, the veteran of the House, who administered to him the oath to support the Constitution of the United States. He administered the same oath

to all the members—calling them up by States—those of the largest States in two or three divisions.

Mr. Jesse Speight, a member from North Carolina, moved the appointment of Matthew St. Clair Clarke as Clerk to the House by resolution, which he took from the journal of the House at the first session of the last Congress, in this form: "Mr. Speaker, I move the following resolution;" then, without reading it, he took it to the Clerk's table, where it was read; and upon the question being put, it passed without opposition. The Speaker had made his acknowledgments to the House from the chair in a short speech prepared for the occasion, but not well adapted to the circumstances of his election. Resolutions of notice to the Senate, and for a joint committee to notify the President, were adopted. Resolutions also passed for furnishing the members with newspapers, equivalent to three daily, and for the appointment of two Chaplains, to interchange weekly; and the House adjourned before two o'clock. There were two districts of Massachusetts unrepresented, seven trials in each of them to hold the election having failed to obtain for any one person a majority of all the votes returned. I suggested to Mr. Everett the propriety of a letter from the delegation to Governor Lincoln, requesting him to recommend to the Legislature a revision of the law to secure a full representation to the State at the opening of every Congress. Everett said if I would draw up such a letter he would sign it.

6th. I attended the House. The message from the President was delivered and read, committed to a committee of the whole House, and ten thousand copies ordered to be printed. Adjourned about two o'clock. I had written a letter for the delegation, requesting Governor Lincoln to recommend a revision of the law of Massachusetts regulating the election of members of the House of Representatives of the United States. On showing my letter to the members of the delegation, I found no objection from any of them to sign it, excepting from John Davis, the member from Worcester, who preferred taking time to consider—I know not why.

7th. Mr. John Reed, with whom I had yesterday left my letter to Governor Lincoln to obtain the signatures of the

members of the delegation who had not signed the paper, returned it to me, signed by all the other members excepting Davis, who finally declined signing it. He said he was not unfriendly to the object of it, but had some doubts whether the remedy would not be worse than the disease. I wrote also a private letter to Governor Lincoln, to accompany that of the delegation.

8th. Mr. Cazneau Palfrey, the Unitarian minister, came to solicit my vote for the office of assistant door-keeper to the House of Representatives in behalf of Moses Poor. I told him he should have it, but I knew there were two disqualifications which would defeat any application of Mr. Poor for office: one, that he is a Yankee; and the other, that he is a Unitarian.

11th. Mr. Henberger is the German Swiss who some time since came here with Mr. Hassler. He called again this morning, and brought with him two small boxes of ancient medals, coins, and gems, and two sheets of paper with lists of the whole collection, which he wishes to sell. He has eighteen hundred of them, and supposes they would be well adapted to the museum of any college or university—as undoubtedly they would. But this worthy gentleman has mistaken the taste of the country to which he has brought these treasures. Democracy has no forefathers, it looks to no posterity; it is swallowed up in the present, and thinks of nothing but itself. This is the vice of democracy; and it is incurable. Democracy has no monuments; it strikes no medals; it bears the head of no man upon a coin; its very essence is iconoclastic. This is the reason why Congress have never been able to erect a monument to Washington. There is, therefore, no prospect for Mr. Henberger to dispose of his jewels here.

12th. Attended the House of Representatives. The appointment of the standing committees was announced, and I am Chairman of the Committee of Manufactures—a station of high responsibility, and, perhaps, of labor more burdensome than any other in the House; far from the line of occupation in which all my life has been passed, and for which I feel myself not to be well qualified. I know not even enough of it to form an estimate of its difficulties. I only know that it is not the

place suited to my acquirements and capacities, such as they are; yet, as little as I esteem the Speaker, I have no fault to find with him for the appointment.

The petitions were called for by States, commencing with Maine and proceeding southward. I presented fifteen petitions, signed numerously by citizens of Pennsylvania, praying for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia. I moved that they should be referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

The practice is for the member presenting the petition to move that the reading of it be dispensed with, and that it be referred to the appropriate, or to a select, committee; but I moved that one of the petitions presented by me should be read, they being all of the same tenor and very short. It was accordingly read. I made a very few remarks, chiefly to declare that I should not support that part of the petition which prayed for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. It is so long since I was in the habit of speaking to a popular assembly, the assemblies in which I had ever spoken extemporaneously have been, comparatively speaking, so little popular, and I am so little qualified by nature for an extemporaneous orator, that I was at this time not a little agitated by the sound of my own voice. I was not more than five minutes upon my feet; but I was listened to with great attention, and, when I sat down, it seemed to myself as if I had performed an achievement.

So small and trivial are the things which often hang like burdens upon the soul. I am grateful that this one has been removed. After the petitions were gone through, the resolutions to be offered were called for, again by States; after which Mr. Wayne, of Georgia, moved that the House should resolve itself into a committee of the whole upon the state of the Union. The speaker requested General Adair to take the chair. Mr. Wayne then offered a series of resolutions, distributing the President's message into paragraphs and referring each subject to a distinct committee. Most of them were adopted as proposed; but the one to be referred to the Committee of Ways and Means made no mention of the Bank of the United States.

George McDuffie, Chairman of that committee, moved as an amendment to the resolution the words, "so much as relates to the Bank of the United States," upon which a debate between these two members followed, in which Wayne pointedly referred to the contradictory opinions respecting the rechartering of the Bank of the United States contained in the President's message, and in the annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury, upon the finances. McDuffie's amendment prevailed by a large majority.

Charles A. Wickliffe moved an additional resolution, to refer the subject of internal improvement to a select committee. Wayne said he had left it out because there was nothing about internal improvement in the message, and there had already been appointed a committee on internal improvement, on a resolution offered by C. F. Mercer, of Virginia. Wickliffe's resolution was adopted in committee of the whole, but in the House was laid upon the table. The House adjourned about half-past two.

13th. As I was leaving home this morning to go to the House, Dr. Laurie stopped the carriage to say that he came from the subscribers to the Lyceum to request that I would deliver to them their first discourse—which I was under a necessity of declining, having a load of business upon me which makes it impossible for me to assume more. I rode to the Capitol, stopping at Mr. Everett's lodgings, but he was already gone.

The Speaker took the chair a few minutes after I reached the House. The States were again called over for petitions. I presented in my turn four or five, moving in the usual form that they should be referred to the appropriate committees. Mr. Ellsworth, of Connecticut, presented a petition from a claimant of demands upon France before the year 1800, upon which a debate arose. He moved its reference to a select committee. Some other member moved its reference to the Committee for Foreign Affairs. Howard, of Baltimore, moved to lay it on the table, alleging that the great body of the claimants had committed their claims to the charge of one person, and did not wish Congress to do anything with them this session. But

this was denied by Mr. Drayton, of South Carolina, who spoke for many of them. Mr. Everett, Mr. Hoffman, of New York, and Mr. McDuffie took part in the debate, in which I also made a speech. I gave a short history of the claims, and stated their precise character, to show that they should not go to the Committee of Foreign Affairs, but to a select committee. The House, however, by a considerable majority, referred the petition to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

When the presenting of petitions was gone through, the Chaplain of the House was elected. The Rev. Reuben Post was chosen. A resolution offered by C. F. Mercer was taken up—that hereafter there should at the commencement of each session of Congress be elected a standing committee upon roads and canals, to consist of seven members. It was opposed by Mitchell, of South Carolina, who was replied to by Mr. Mercer. Mitchell moved to lay the resolution on the table; which the House refused. Speight moved postponement till Monday—refused; then till to-morrow—refused; then to adjourn—and that motion prevailed.

I had asked Mr. Everett to consent to exchange places with me on the committees—to take my place as Chairman of the Committee of Manufactures and to give me that of second upon the Committee of Foreign Relations, where he was placed; to which he readily agreed if the Speaker would consent, which he said he did not believe he would. After the adjournment I went into the Speaker's chamber and proposed to him to authorize the exchange; but he said he had no power to make the alteration; that the appointment of committees being once made was the act of the House, and he had no authority to change the arrangement in any manner.

I referred him to an arrangement which had been made a few years since, when John Randolph was made Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means and George McDuffie the second, and after a few days Mr. Randolph was, at his own request, excused, and Mr. McDuffie acted as Chairman of the committee during the remainder of the session. He said it was the act of the House, upon a letter from Mr. Randolph himself, and was granted with great reluctance. He then expatiated

upon his discharge of his duties as Speaker, upon the general expectation of the nation, upon the importance of that place above all others, particularly at this time.

I told him that so far as concerned myself I was satisfied. I had no complaint to make, and he had discharged his duty as Speaker; but I had two reasons for wishing to be excused: one, that I did not feel myself competent for the station which he had assigned to me; the other, that the state of my health was not fitted to the burden which it imposed upon me.

He repeated that he had no power over the arrangement of the committees after the appointments were made; that the House alone could excuse me; and if they should, another distinguished citizen from the East would be appointed, but not Mr. Everett.

The humiliation of asking to be excused by the House I cannot yet endure, and I shall submit to my fate.

Gales sent to me again for a copy of my speech on the relinquished claims upon France. I said he must send me the manuscript of his reporter, and I would revise it. I was obliged to write almost the whole of it over again, and it absorbed the evening. I must very rarely make speeches in the House. It is double waste of time—first to speak, and then to report.

14th. I had received the commission of the Committee of Manufactures, and the reference to them of so much of the President's message as related to manufactures and the modification of the tariff. McDuffie, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, made several reports; Hoffman, the Chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, made one. I sent round a notification to all the members of the Committee of Manufactures, requesting their attendance at the room of the committee immediately after the adjournment of the House. I called at the seat of Dr. Condict, who had been a member of the same committee at the last session, to show me the way to the committee-room. At Dr. Condict's seat I met Mr. Clay, who appears to be in fine health. He said he would call and see me some evening. He was nominated by the National Republican Convention at Baltimore yesterday for the Presidency of the United States at the next election—one hundred and

sixty-five votes out of one hundred and sixty-six present naming him successively as their choice; and a committee of thirteen came last evening to inform him of his nomination.

I went with Dr. Condict to the room of the Committee on Manufactures, which is in the upper story of the Capitol. There was no fire in the room, but there was in the adjoining chamber, being that of the Committee of Foreign Relations. They were not in session, and we took the room, the whole committee present. The members are Lewis Condict, of New Jersey, James Findlay, of Ohio, Henry Horn, of Pennsylvania, Charles Dayan, of New York, J. T. H. Worthington, of Maryland, and John S. Barbour, of Virginia. There was some conversation among the members as to the best mode of proceeding by the committee. A reduction of duties upon many of the articles in the tariff was understood by all to be the object to be effected. It was observed that it would be necessary to review the tariffs of 1816, 1820, 1824, and 1828, and the effects severally produced by them; that upon articles not in competition with our own, the reduction might be large, and some articles made entirely free. It was suggested that communication might be held with the Secretary of the Treasury, to ascertain the views and wishes of the Executive, and if they had any plan in preparation upon this subject; which I promised to do. It was understood that as soon as the whole subject should be matured, a report should be prepared by the Chairman and submitted to the committee. The memorials from the Free-Trade and Tariff Conventions are expected. It was proposed by one member that the committee should meet twice a week; but, as nothing is yet prepared, the next meeting is to be called at the discretion of the Chairman, and he was desired to apply for another and more comfortable committee-room.

18th. Between the services I had a visit from Mr. Webster, who has very recently arrived. I asked him his views with regard to the diminution of duties in the tariff; but he appeared to have formed no fixed opinion. I asked him if he thought a remission of six or seven millions of duties, and a reservation of five millions a year for purposes of internal improvement,

would be supported by the National Republicans; he thought they would, but said he would enquire and ascertain.

20th. On my way home from the House I stopped at the Treasury, and had an hour of conversation with the Secretary, upon the projected modification of the tariff. I told him I should propose to reserve as much as five millions a year to purposes of internal improvement. He said he thought it would be impossible to obtain the assent of Congress or of the President to the reservation of so large a sum. I argued the point with him; and he said he would report my remarks to the President—an effectual damper for them. I said there was one point of view in which, perhaps, the President might be reconciled to it—as a means of strengthening the defences of the country. Such a reservation might serve the purpose of a treasure without the inconvenience of hoarding. In peace, it might be applied to internal improvement, and in prospect of war, be a fund ready provided for the emergencies of the times.

21st. Mr. Everett invited me to attend at his lodgings this evening a small meeting of friends, to consider the question with regard to the modification of the tariff. I had some conversation with Mr. C. F. Mercer on the same subject, and intimated to him a wish that there might be about five millions of revenue reserved annually for specific purposes of internal improvement. He said that he should be entirely in favor of it, but thought it doubtful whether it could be carried through. I have the same doubts, perhaps in a higher degree.

At seven in the evening I went to Mr. Everett's lodgings, and there met Messrs. Appleton, I. C. Bates, L. Condict, Dearborn, Ellsworth, Evans, of Maine, Holmes, Huntington, Jenifer, Letcher, Pendleton, Tracy, John W. Taylor, Whittlesey, of Ohio, and one other. Much conversation ensued with regard to the course to be taken by the friends of domestic industry. It resulted in an agreement to hold another and larger meeting next Monday evening, and in the mean time a committee, not to be confined to the members of the present meeting, to be appointed by the Chairman, Taylor, to report an opinion for discussion as to what further is to be done.

22d. Mr. Bell, the Senator from New Hampshire, called to see me this morning, before the meeting of the Houses. He said the nomination of Martin Van Buren as Minister to Great Britain was now before the Senate, and some of the members inclined to reject it, but he doubted himself whether that course would be wise or politic.

I told him I thought it so far otherwise, that I had not supposed any Senator would vote against the nomination with a purpose of rejecting it. I thought Van Buren had disgraced himself, when Secretary of State, by pandering to palm a prostitute upon decent society, and disgraced the country by his instructions to McLane upon his mission to England. But to reject the nomination of him now would bring him back with increased power to do mischief here, would make way for another appointment, certainly not less profligate than himself, and would have abroad an effect unfavorable to this country, similar to that which his own obnoxious instructions have produced. I thought, therefore, the rejection of him would do no good, and might do much harm.

I sent round notice to the members of the Committee of Manufactures to meet immediately after the adjournment of the House. I read to them the draft of a letter to the Secretary of the Treasury which I had written, enquiring for information; which was adopted with an amendment. Mr. Bouldin, of Virginia, had moved in the House a resolution calling on the committee to obtain and report to the House certain information. I proposed to enclose also a copy of this resolution to the Secretary of the Treasury, and to ask the information of him; which was agreed to. Mr. Worthington was the only member of the committee absent. Some of the members intimated that they would prefer hereafter to meet in the morning, before the meeting of the House.

John W. Taylor called here in the evening, and mentioned that he was somewhat embarrassed with regard to the appointment of the committee with which he had been charged last evening. He thought I had inclined not to be one of the committee myself; in which, I told him, he had understood me correctly. He said he had thought of Mr. Clay, Mr. Webster,

and Mr. Josiah S. Johnston; all of whom I thought well selected. He said John Davis, of whom he spoke very highly, appeared to distrust a little the consonancy of Mr. Clay's views with the interest of internal industry in New England. I supposed this might have originated in the sort of manifesto of Mr. Clay's present political opinions, issued for him in the Richmond Whig, John H. Pleasants's paper, entirely devoted to him.

I told Taylor I had some suspicion Davis was somewhat distrustful of me also, though I knew not exactly the reason why. Taylor spoke of his own situation, and of the certainty that after the new census his vicinage would be so districted as to exclude him from Congress. I told him I expected the same thing.

24th. Mr. William Babcock is a member of the House from Ontario County, New York, formerly represented by Robert R. Rose. Babcock told me his own story. He was a Mason of three degrees, and connected with the publication of a newspaper. For some time after the death of Morgan he disbelieved the fact, and his paper treated as infamous calumnies all the charges against the Masons as being guilty of his blood. About a month after the event, a Mason who was under very great obligations to him told him, as a Masonic secret, that Morgan had been murdered; at which he was so much shocked that he immediately renounced his connection with the order, and his paper from that time took the Anti-Masonic side. He immediately became an object of violent persecution by the Masons of his neighborhood, which has continued to this day. At the head of it is the man who gave him the information, and who owes to him everything that he has in the world. Every kind of slander that could be invented has been circulated against him. All his Masonic friends have deserted and taken part against him; and that has finally made him a member of Congress; for he is not an educated man—is a shopkeeper, miller, and mechanic. With all this, he told me he had called to see me to give me a caution. He had been told by G. H. Wheeler, a Jackson member of Congress from his State, that there was now a formal design in process of execution to

get me into a difficulty in the House of Representatives; that it is of Masonic origin, and that the agent for its execution is Mr. Root, a high Mason. Mr. Babcock advised me, therefore, not to take part in any debates upon trifling subjects. He thinks also that Mr. Clay now expects that the Jackson Masons will come over to him after Jackson's second term of office shall have expired; but that he deceives himself, and that Richard M. Johnson will be their man. He says Richard M. Johnson may be plastered up into a hero, and that will be enough to fashion him into a candidate for the office of President.

I then called upon General Cadwalader at his lodgings, and invited him to dine with me to-morrow; but he said he had engaged the Senators from Pennsylvania, Wilkins and Dallas, to dine with him. Cadwalader is here on the concerns of the Bank of the United States, somewhat uncertain whether it will be proper for the bank to apply for a new charter at the present session of Congress. He told me much of the result of his enquiries, and particularly a characteristic dialogue between him and Samuel Smith, Chairman of the Committee of Finance in the Senate, very anxious for the rechartering of the bank, but not sure that he can vote for it at this session of Congress. I told Cadwalader that I was so decidedly in favor of the bank that I had, on last passing through Philadelphia, divested myself of all personal interest in its concerns. He said Mr. McDuffie had told him he had done the same.

26th. I had a succession of visitors all this morning. Mr. Pendleton, member of the House from New York, read to me a set of resolutions which he proposes to offer to the House, declaratory of the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the United States from the Courts of the States in criminal cases. Of the expediency of his presenting them I had my doubts, but did not think proper to discourage him, as he seemed anxious to make a speech in support of them, and as it may be productive of good results. He said he had as yet mentioned them only to Mr. Everett; but I advised him to communicate them to Mr. Evans, of Maine, Mr. Davis, of Massachusetts, Ingersoll and Ellsworth, of Connecticut, Taylor, of New York, and Doddridge, of Virginia. He said he wished to bring

them forward as soon as possible—rather to-morrow than later.

Mr. Clay asked me how I felt upon turning boy again to go into the House of Representatives. I told him that hitherto I had found the labor light enough, but the House had not yet got to business. He repeated several times that I should find my situation extremely laborious; and that I knew right well before. Labor I shall not refuse, so long as my hand, my eyes, and my brain do not desert me; but what shall I do for that which I cannot give?

Mr. Clay spoke of the reduction of the tariff, and said there were other points to be considered besides the taking off of the duties. One was, changing the mode of valuation, which he deemed highly important; another was, shortening the credit of importations and introducing a system of cash payments, as for the public lands; a third was, the expediency of increasing the duties upon some of the protected articles, so as to make them nearly prohibitory. To increase the duties for the express purpose of diminishing the revenue was an idea well deserving of meditation, and which had not occurred to me. I asked whether, in the gracious operation of remitting taxes, there would not be a mixture of harshness in extending the protective system, and a danger of increasing the discontents of the Southern States, already bitterly complaining of the unequal operation of the duties.

He said the discontents were almost all, if not entirely, imaginary or fictitious, and in almost all the Southern States had, in a great measure, subsided. Here is one great error of Mr. Clay.

He spoke of the report upon iron to the New York Tariff Convention, and of their address to the people, which he said was an unequal composition. I wished this conversation to be extended; but others came in, and it was interrupted. Of the other visitors, Mr. Dickerson, the Senator from New Jersey, was the most remarkable; and Mr. John Branch, late Secretary of the Navy, and now a member of the House from North Carolina, left a card here.

27th. I finished with great and thankless labor the version

of the 58th Psalm. It has in it the noted passage of the deaf adder who hears not the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely. I have found it impossible to retain in the verse the force and beauty of this figure; and the rest of the Psalm, though announced as one of the *golden* effusions of David, is not among the most pleasing of the collection. Some of its thoughts are harsh, its images not most delicate, its transitions sudden and abrupt. It perplexed me very much, and the version of it is a failure. So it is with nine in ten; but my destiny must be accomplished.

T. R. Mitchell offered a resolution, and, after the adjournment, asked me if the 1st of February would be in time for the memorial of the Free-Trade Convention. I told him the sooner it would come the better. He said he would write to Mr. Lee to urge him to hasten it on as soon as possible, but Mr. Lee had been very unwell. I asked Mitchell what reduction of duties he wanted. He said, to reduce the revenue to thirteen millions. I told him we could not do with less than twenty. He said he had represented me to the South as an anti-tariff man. I said I was no worshipper of the tariff, but of internal improvement, for the pursuit of which by Congress, as a system, I claimed to be the first mover. It was by a resolution which I offered to the Senate of the United States on the 23d of February, 1807.

Mitchell said he would willingly write to me to let me know what duties he wanted to have reduced.

28th. Dr. Condict gave me notice to attend a meeting this evening at Edward Everett's. General Dearborn came, and told me that although he had not called upon the President, he had received an invitation to dine with him; that he meant to decline it, but wanted advice how to word his answer. I said I thought it would be sufficient to say, General Dearborn regrets to decline the President's invitation to dinner.

In the evening, at seven, I attended the meeting at Everett's. Appleton, Bates, Clay, Condict, J. Davis, Dearborn, Ellsworth, Evans, Huntington, J. S. Johnston, H. Niles, Pendleton, Stewart, J. W. Taylor, Vinton, and two others, were there—Chilton Allan, the Representative from Mr. Clay's district in Kentucky,

and T. M. McKennan, a member of the House from Pennsylvania. Niles was there at the request of some of the members of the committee, who reported to the meeting.

Mr. Clay was Chairman of the committee, and the report was the draft of a bill, to be presented forthwith to the Senate, for the immediate and total repeal of all the duties upon tea, coffee, spices, indigo, and many other articles, almost the whole duty upon wines, and effecting a diminution of revenue for the coming year, 1832, of upwards of seven millions of dollars.

This is Mr. Clay's scheme, which he has already attempted in the Senate, as General Dearborn attempted it in the House. It is now to be attempted in this form. Mr. Clay laid down the law of his system. He said the policy of our adversaries was obvious—to break down the American system by accumulation of the revenue. Ours, therefore, should be specially adapted to counteract it, by reducing immediately the revenue to the amount of seven or eight millions this very coming year. He would hardly wait for the 1st of January to take off the duties; and he would adhere to the protective system, even to the extent of increasing the duties on some of the protected articles.

Mr. Clay's manner, with many courtesies of personal politeness, was exceedingly peremptory and dogmatical. There was some discussion of his statements, but nothing said in opposition to them. Mr. Bates ventured a few enquiring remarks, and Mr. Everett, comparing himself to the devil's advocate at the canonization of saints, hazarded a question, whether it was not setting the South at defiance. I enquired whether it had been considered what would be the effect upon the commercial community of suddenly taking off such a mass of duties from articles of which they must have considerable stocks on hand. Mr. Appleton thought it was of very little consequence. There was much said of miscellaneous remark upon woolens, an immense article of importation, the duties upon which alone were said to amount to eight millions of dollars; those upon teas and coffee amounting to about four millions.

Mr. Clay said the duties upon hemp were of no use to the hemp of our growth, because the European hemp was water-

rotted and ours dew-rotted; the latter being fit only for cotton bagging. And he was willing to allow a drawback perhaps even upon that; but certainly upon all rigging of ships exported.

Dearborn said all the ropewalks in Boston were shut up, owing to the duty upon hemp. There were sundry remarks relative to the frauds upon the revenues with regard to woolens and to iron; others, upon the expediency of changing the valuation of imported articles from the foreign place of production to the cost in market here.

Dr. Condict moved that the bill which had been read should be introduced into the Senate. It passed without a dissenting voice. I then said that I had no objection to the introduction of the bill; I believed it might prepare us for a full consideration of the subject; but with regard to an immediate remission of duties, I ought in candor to state that the Committee on Manufactures, of the House, were already committed upon the principle that the reduction of the duties should be prospective, and not to commence until after the extinguishment of the national debt. If the proposed bill should pass the Senate, which I very much doubted, upon coming to the House it would be referred to the Committee of Ways and Means, who would probably report by way of amendment an additional reduction of seven or eight millions more. It must be distinctly understood that I could support, or vote for, no bill which would conflict with the pledge given by the Committee of Manufactures to the Secretary of the Treasury. I observed that an immediate remission of duties, with a declared disposition to increase the duties upon the protected articles, would be a defiance not only to the South, as had been observed by Mr. Everett, but defiance also of the President, and of the whole Administration party; and against them combined I thought it not possible that this bill should pass.

Mr. Clay said he did not care who it defied. To preserve, maintain, and strengthen the American system he would defy the South, the President, and the devil; that if the Committee of Manufactures had committed themselves as I had stated, they had given a very foolish and improvident pledge; there

was no necessity for the payment of the debt on the 4th of March, 1833; and much more of like import. To which I made a respectful, but very warm, reply. I said that without determining whether the President's passion to pay off the whole of the public debt by the 4th of March, 1833, was the wisest idea that ever entered into the heart of man, it was one in which I thought he ought to be indulged, and not opposed. It was an idea which would take greatly with the people; to oppose it would be invidious, and there was justice in it, too. It was true the three per cents. must be paid off dollar for dollar, while the use of the money might be worth double the interest they were paying for it. But this was only justice to the original holders of the three per cents., which ought, like the rest of the debt, to have been paid off at six per cent. It would be a great and glorious day when the United States shall be able to say that they owe not a dollar in the world; and this payment of the debt would obviate another difficulty suggested by Mr. Clay. There would certainly be no accumulation of revenue within that time. As to the bill, I thought it would be well to watch its progress with a vigilant eye; for, if I mistook not, it would produce remarkable political disclosures. I was much surprised to hear that the Chairman of the Committee of Finance would report such a bill.

Mr. Clay said he would report it. He perhaps would not vote for it, but the Senate would pass it. Mr. Johnston asked if I had any other objection to the bill than to the time for the remission of duties to commence; and he proposed July or October.

I said, if the bill should come to the House from the Senate, I should favor it as far as I could reconcilably with the principles which the Committee of Manufactures, at my own suggestion, had assumed.

There was then a proposition that the same committee which had prepared this bill should proceed to mature a plan for reducing the duties on the protected articles; but Mr. Clay declined, and moved that the meeting should dissolve itself. He was evidently mortified and piqued. He had come to the meeting to give his little Senate laws. The meeting, with the

exception of myself, was as obsequious as he was super-presidential; and when I stated in candor that the Committee of Manufactures had declared their concurrence in the opinion of the President, that the reduction of duties should be prospective, and not to take effect till after the extinguishment of the debt, he said, "Then the committee have given a very foolish and improvident pledge." Clay's motive is obvious. He sees that next November, at the choice of Presidential Electors, the great and irresistible Jackson electioneering cry will be the extinction of the debt. By the instant repeal of all these duties he wants to withdraw seven or eight millions from the Treasury and make it impossible to extinguish it by the 3d of March, 1833. It is an electioneering movement, and this was the secret of these meetings, as well as of the desperate effort to take the whole business of the reduction of the tariff into his own hands. When I remarked that the bill would meet with opposition from many who might favor all its provisions, but would be governed in their votes by political and party considerations, he said the subject should be treated without reference to any political considerations, and that he regretted there were any political considerations connected with himself. Other members present were very anxious for a continuance of the meetings, but he insisted upon an adjournment without day, which was carried; with an understanding, however, that another meeting shall be called whenever it may be deemed advisable. Mr. Clay's objection to the continuance of the meetings was, that it would have the appearance of a permanent association to dictate measures to Congress. There was a proposition for holding weekly meetings; but it did not prevail.

29th. At the House, before it met, I asked J. W. Taylor if I had said anything last evening which could be offensive to Mr. Clay. He said, not a word; that the question might indeed be made on the other side; that Clay came to the meeting a little flustered—he had been dining abroad, and talked more freely than he would reflect upon with pleasure; but that I had said nothing but what I was in honor bound to say after what had taken place in the Committee of Manufactures; and

although he himself should incline to vote for the early repeal of the duties, he did not see that I could avoid making the explicit statement that I did.

I told him that I had committed myself and the Committee of Manufactures to the principle assumed by the President before I knew that Mr. Clay had opposite views; but that if I had known them, perhaps they might, and perhaps they might not, have modified mine. I wished, however, most earnestly wished to give no just cause of offence to Mr. Clay.

30th. T. R. Mitchell, of South Carolina, brought me a Richmond Enquirer, containing an article headed with my name, rather complimentary, insidious, and cajoling. Its object is, by praising me, to embitter against me all the National Republican party, so called; that is, the party of Mr. Clay. They are bitter enough against me already. I bless a merciful Creator that hitherto my taking of a seat in the House of Representatives has been successful so far as personally concerned myself. I have received there no disrespectful treatment. Many individuals have treated me positively with respect. When I have spoken, I have been listened to with attention, and not without approbation. May I improve the lesson—remember to speak seldom, and, above all things, ask from above discernment what to say! Mitchell asked me also who was the person mentioned by me as having been recommended to President Washington by the opposition Senators in 1794. I told him it was Aaron Burr. He said Washington had then done right in refusing to nominate him. Mitchell said, laughing, that I had done great injustice to an old gentleman for whom he entertained great respect, namely, Adam Smith; for that all the Revolutionary patriots in South Carolina were aristocratic lordlings, prompted only by the spirit of aggrandizement for themselves. Mitchell is a good-humored man, and of very good talents.

31st. I received this day a letter from Mr. James Blair, a member of the House of Representatives from South Carolina, enclosing one to him from Thomas Williams, a member of the South Carolina Legislature, giving an account of the temper manifested at their late session, which is atrocious. Mr. Blair, who is of what they call the Union party, requests me in flattering

terms to give him my view upon the contents of Mr. Williams's letter, and to return it to him. Mr. Blair is a stranger to me, and in this communication manifests a confidence which I am bound to return with kindness and candor, but it increases the embarrassment and the delicacy of my situation. I began, but did not finish, an answer to the letter.

Year and day. Thus closes the year 1831, a year of vicissitudes in my life, fruitful of blessings, and not without severe trials, and prospects of accelerating decay to my health and my condition in the world. My return to public life is with disastrous forebodings of many who call, and perhaps think, themselves my friends, and with no cheering presentiment of my own. It hazards all that I have left upon earth, and with it the well-being of my children, and of theirs. Youth is the favorite of Fortune, and age her victim. Yet I struggle against the laws of time, and pray for cheerfulness and resignation.

January 1st, 1832.—

O God, unto my prayer attend:
O lead me to the rock on high,
For I, from earth's remotest end,
With heart o'erwhelmed, to Thee will cry.
Thou art my shelter, Thou my tower,
My soul to reach Thy temple springs,
Trusts to the refuge of Thy power,
Safe in the covert of Thy wings.

PSALM lxi. v. 1–4.

Began the day by reading the fourth and two succeeding chapters of Deuteronomy, and then made the version of the 61st Psalm, of which the above stanza contains the first four verses, or one-half. Deeming it eminently suited to the time and circumstances, I place it at the head of my diary for the commencing year, and believe that the trust in God which it imparts is my sole reliance for this world and the next; in all humility imploring that support. With this sentiment, I attended public worship at the Second Presbyterian Church, and heard Mr. Smith, from Proverbs xxvii. 1: "Boast not thyself of to-morrow; for thou knowest not what a day may bring forth." From this most excellent text he delivered a well-written and

eloquent discourse—the first written sermon that I have heard him preach—juvenile and florid, but full of sentiment and of sound morality.

2d. Began the version of the 62d Psalm. The Presidential mansion was open this day at noon, and some of its overflowings came over the Square. From noon till three there was a succession of visitors—foreign Legations, members of Congress, citizens, Shawanese Indians, and Quakers, officers of the army and navy, and some strangers. Among the company was Mr. Smith, the Registrar of the Treasury, and Major Lewis, the Second Auditor of the Treasury, whom I did not know. In a casual conversation with them, I adverted to the remark of Gibbon, that the courage of a soldier is the cheapest quality in human nature. By the looks of some persons present, I saw it was thought I had a special meaning in what I said—when in truth it was a mere thoughtless indiscretion.

5th. I walked to the Capitol, and attended the Committee on Manufactures at eleven this morning. Dr. Condict, Mr. Findlay, Mr. Dayan, and John S. Barbour were present; Henry Horn and J. T. H. Worthington absent. They had met at ten, misnotified by the boy, though I had given him a written notification to show them, appointing the hour to meet at eleven. I read to them the answer of the Secretary of the Treasury to the letter I had written him asking for information, and I proposed to them the question whether the remission of duties should be postponed till after the extinguishment of the national debt, and whether the whole debt should be paid off before the 3d of March, 1833. I found opinions not at all matured or concurring on this subject. The opinion of Mr. Condict and Mr. Findlay was rather in favor of a considerable remission of duties immediately, Mr. Barbour's more decisively so, and Mr. Dayan wishing to proceed to a reduction of the tariff without reference to that question. I read a letter from Mr. J. B. Brown, which had been put into my hands yesterday by Mr. Davis. The committee agreed to meet again next Monday morning at eleven, then adjourned, and I entered the House just as the Speaker took the chair. Sundry resolutions were offered and bills reported and read. The rule itself, limiting the debates

upon resolutions to one hour, was modified. The bill for adjusting the claim of the State of South Carolina was taken up on the motion of Mr. McCoy to refer the bill and the report of the Committee of Military Affairs to the Committee of Claims. Mr. McCoy was not in the House, and I made a short speech in favor of the reference to the Committee of Claims, which brought up McDuffie, Speight, Everett, Burges, Reed, J. Davis, and Drayton against me. Lewis Williams alone supported me, and the motion for reference was rejected by a large majority. The question then came up on the bill, but it was near four o'clock, and the House adjourned. What shall I do upon the lesson of this day? The Committee on Manufactures do not agree with my principles with regard to the payment of the debt. A speech of ten minutes brings down upon me a swarm from all quarters of the House, among whom three members from my own State. What is it? As I was coming home, I overtook Stevenson, the Speaker, who told me I was unquestionably right upon the principle, and that twenty members had told him they would have voted with me but that it would have seemed like casting an imputation upon the Military Committee. Shall I not take warning from these symptoms of universal opposition? Shall I not feel that my prudence and my escape from utter ruin depend upon my abstaining from taking part in all debatable questions? and is this compatible with the duties of my station?

6th. I rode to the Capitol Hill, and called upon General Adair, with whom, twenty-five years since, I sat in the Senate. He gave me now some of his opinions, which were in no wise congruous with my own. He thought this new manufacturing interest was more deeply injurious to the interests of New England than to those of any other part of the Union. His argument was, that the natural interest of New England consisted of commerce, shipping, and navigation; that by diverting a large capital from these objects to manufactures great numbers of young men were thrown out of employment and means of subsistence, and obliged to emigrate to the Western States and Territories, where they were remarkable only for idleness, profligacy, and dishonesty. This he had found in an extensive

tour he had made last year in the Western country, where the young men who had emigrated from Kentucky, active and industrious young men, would come and give him this account of the Yankees. He also disapproved of steamboat navigation upon the Western rivers, and said their produce sold at higher prices in Kentucky before the steamboat trade than now; that the only advantage they had derived from steamboats was that of ascending the river in a shorter time and having foreign goods cheaper. But the accidents and disasters to property were much greater in the steamboats than they had been in the flats. He had also a very poor opinion of the coasting trade, which was of no profit to the nation, nothing being gained by it, and it never made sailors good for anything.

I said that might be true of the coasters employed in river navigation.

He said it was the same thing with them all, and every officer of the navy would tell you that sailors from the coasting trade were not worth having. He spoke also with contempt of the mania for internal improvement, which, he said, was a raging disease throughout the country. To all this I made no reply, except to the last observation I said I was much affected with the disease myself. But I thought I perceived anti-Clayism and anti-Yankeeism at the bottom of it all, and saw how those two spirits were operating in Kentucky.

7th. Wrote on the draft for a report of the Committee on Manufactures; but what they will not sanction, and the substance of which I must therefore abandon or bring it forth in a new form. I walked round the Capitol Hill, and called twice at Dr. Condict's lodgings, intending to read to him what I had written of the report; but he was not at home. I called also at John W. Taylor's, to read it to him and take his advice; but he, too, was out. Walking round the Capitol Hill, I overtook P. L. Tracy, who told me he had dined yesterday, or the day before, at the President's, and that he was very feeble, and made an excuse for leaving the company and retiring. The thaw continues, with some rain. I had a morning visit from R. Peters, reporter of the decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court. Their session is to commence next Monday; but Judge Mc-

Lean is the only member of the Court yet arrived. Peters said he had talked last evening with Stevenson, the Speaker, who told him that his reason for not appointing me Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations was, that I was in no personal relations with the President.

9th. I walked to the Capitol, and, on approaching it, overtook Mr. Findlay, a member of the Committee on Manufactures, who told me we had a committee who never would agree upon anything. Of this I had already a strong suspicion. At the meeting of the committee, Findlay, Henry Horn, and John S. Barbour were present; Dr. Condict, Mr. Dayan, and Mr. Worthington absent. I stated distinctly the question, whether the committee would proceed upon the basis of extinguishing the debt by the 4th of March, 1833, or not. Barbour met the question immediately, Findlay and Horn flew the course. I saw it was in vain to read the draft of a report that I had made, and kept it in my pocket. Findlay said that the question about rechartering the bank must be deferred till after the next elections, and they would all be decided by it. The committee agreed to meet at half-past ten Wednesday morning.

10th. Mr. Lewis is a member of the Society of Friends, and has taken much part for the last twenty years in the measures leading to the abolition of slavery. He came to have some conversation with me upon the subject of slavery in the District of Columbia. I asked him if he had seen the remarks that I made on presenting the petitions from Pennsylvania. He said he had—but wished to know my sentiments upon slavery. I told him I thought they did not materially differ from his own; I abhorred slavery, did not suffer it in my family, and felt proud of belonging to the only State in the Union which at the very first census of population in 1790 had returned in the column of slaves—none; that in presenting the petition I had expressed the wish that the subject might not be discussed in the House, because I believed discussion would lead to ill will, to heart-burnings, to mutual hatred, where the first of wants was harmony; and without accomplishing anything else. I asked him what he should think of the inhabitants of the District of Columbia if they should petition

the Legislature of Pennsylvania to enact a law to compel all the citizens of that State to bear arms in defence of their country. He said he should think they were meddling with what did not concern them. I said the people of the District of Columbia might say the same of citizens of Pennsylvania petitioning for the abolition of slavery, not in that State itself, but in the District of Columbia. He said there were many persons of that opinion, and he had been very desirous of distinctly knowing what my sentiments upon the subject were.

Polk, of Tennessee, called up the bill for the apportionment of representation under the fifth census. It was referred to a committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Michael Hoffman in the chair. The bill was reported with the ratio of representation fixed at forty-eight thousand. A motion was made by Robert Craig, of Virginia, to strike out forty-eight thousand, without proposing to insert any other number. This gave rise to a long debate on a point of order, which grew into a snarl, till near four o'clock, when the House adjourned. Walking down the Avenue with Richard M. Johnson, he spoke of the vehement attack upon me, made by Tristam Burges and three of my colleagues, last Thursday. Mr. Johnson, after his manner, stimulated me to answer, and I told him I thought I should.

11th. I met the Committee on Manufactures at half-past ten. Overtook and walked with Dr. Condict. Told him I had called at his lodgings twice last Saturday, to read to him my draft of a report in part for the Committee on Manufactures. In the committee we had much conversation, and a total disagreement on all sides. Dr. Condict was for an immediate and total repeal of duties on the unprotected articles. A majority of the committee were for retaining a small duty on all articles. We began with Appleton's draft of a bill. Question upon teas —Bohea, Souchong, Hyson Skin, Young Hyson, and Gunpowder, one, two, three, four, five cents a pound. Our time expired, and we agreed to meet at half-past two next Monday.

12th. I found much excitement among the Senators from the South upon the doctrines of Mr. Clay's speech of yesterday. Mr. Tyler, of Virginia, and General S. Smith, of Maryland, spoke of dividing the Union by the Potomac. In the House,

the consideration of a resolution offered by Mr. Bouldin, about minimum and ad valorem duties, was called up, and Bouldin asked for the yeas and nays. The proposition was to refer the enquiry to the Committee of Commerce.

Andrew Stewart moved to amend, by referring to the Committee on Manufactures, and the debate continued till the expiration of the hour. James K. Polk moved to take up the orders of the day. The Census Apportionment bill was taken up, and discussed till past three o'clock in committee of the whole, without making any progress, and the committee rose.

J. W. Taylor told me that there had been an opposition caucus last evening at Vance's lodgings, and there had been one meeting before, which Edward Everett had attended, as he did that of last evening. One member from each delegation had been chosen to consult the respective delegations, and the question was upon the adoption of an opposition course of policy—to canvass all the measures of the Administration, and determine on a concert of opposition movements. This is, I suppose, not a new mode of procedure. It was undoubtedly followed during the last Administration. Nothing has yet been determined upon.

14th. I called upon the Secretary of the Treasury, and had a long conversation with him upon the modification of the tariff, the payment of the debt, the manufactures, and the question as to rechartering the Bank of the United States. He said he had received no answers to the letters of enquiry which he had addressed in various quarters upon receiving mine.

I told him that my impression had been very strong in favor of the President's project, and his plan for paying off the national debt by the 3d of March, 1833, but I had not found a single other person in Congress favorable to that measure, and especially none willing to effect it by selling the seven millions of public bank stock for eight. It is impossible for me to enter into the details of our conversation. He had calculations to show that the bank stock might be sold to pay off the three per cents. not only without loss, but with profit to the public; which, supposing the stock to be sold at eight millions, were

calculations to prove that five and two make three. I could not abide them.

He said the Directors of the bank were willing to take eight millions for the stock without a pledge, but with the chance of a new charter. I thought it would either be a fraudulent or a foolish bargain on our part. He said the bank would give twelve millions for the seven of stock with a pledge of a new charter. And he agreed that the Treasury Department could not go on for a single year without the bank. I told him I had prepared a resolution for bringing to issue in the House of Representatives the question of rechartering the bank, when the memorial from the President and Directors relieved me from the necessity of offering it. He made several remarks upon Mr. Clay's speech the other day in the Senate, which he charged with being in many respects erroneous, and he read me an Act relating to the sinking fund, passed in 1830, which he thought would make it positively obligatory on the Government to pay off several millions of the three per cent. stocks the present year. He said he would write me another letter, stating that he had not yet collected the information which the committee requested. He wished also another call to be made on him, in the shape of a resolution of the House; of which he promised to send me a private note.

15th. Received a proof-sheet of Indian History from T. L. McKenney, and undertook to revise it; for which I found myself unable. The multiplication of business to which my attention is called distracts me. I now receive almost every day five or six letters upon subjects of inexhaustible variety, and among them scarcely one in a week of the least utility to any one but the writer. Every one opens the correspondence for purposes of his own, and if the answer is delayed, there comes a second peevish or petulant complaint of neglect.

17th. I was obliged to go up to the Capitol, and met the Committee on Manufactures at half-past ten. Dr. Condict, Findlay, Worthington, and Barbour were there; Mr. Dayan came in late; H. Horn was absent. I read the letter yesterday received from the Secretary of the Treasury, and his draft of a resolution, with his private note to me, mentioning that

Mr. McDuffie would offer a similar resolution. He did offer it yesterday, and upon a comparison of the resolution offered by him our committee were of opinion that the Committee of Ways and Means were encroaching upon our functions; and I was instructed, when McDuffie's amendment should be taken up in the House, to move our resolution as an amendment to his; so that the House may come to a determination which of the committees shall undertake the reduction of the tariff. We did nothing more. Dr. Condict wished to strike out the words, "after the payment of the national debt." J. S. Barbour supported him, but Findlay, Worthington, and Dayan voted against it, and the words were retained.

19th. At half-past ten I attended the Committee on Manufactures, and read some papers which had been referred to the committee. Present, Dr. Condict, Findlay, Worthington, and Horn; absent, Dayan and J. S. Barbour. I was instructed to offer the resolution sent from the Treasury Department, and to ask a suspension of the rule by which such resolutions are required to lie over one day, and that it should be immediately considered. I did accordingly offer the resolution, and the House agreed immediately to consider it. McDuffie, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, then moved to lay it on the table, alleging that he had offered, some days since, a resolution to the same effect, which ought to have precedence of mine. But he found the House would not sustain him, and asked that the two resolutions should be considered together. I said I had no objection to the House's considering his resolution immediately after they should have decided upon mine, but I could not consent that they should be taken up together. Mr. Carson, of North Carolina, moved an amendment to my resolution, requiring the Secretary of the Treasury in his plan of tariff to reduce the duties to the necessary wants of the Government. But he soon saw the House would not sustain him in that, and withdrew his amendment. Dr. Condict had moved in committee an amendment to strike out the words, "after the payment of the public debt;" but Findlay, Worthington, and Horn voted against it. He renewed his motion in the House, and it was carried without opposition. There

was a blank to fill, which was filled with the fiscal year 1831. The resolution was adopted, and that offered by Mr. McDuffie immediately afterwards.

20th. The House went into committee of the whole—Mr. McDuffie in the chair—on fourteen private bills, unfinished business of last Friday. There was no further debate upon the bill granting a pension to D. Sizer, which had occupied great part of last Friday; but the bill was reported to the House without amendment.

There was a bill for the relief of the legal representatives of David Dardin, for a horse taken in the Revolutionary War. The committee now proposed to give fifteen hundred dollars for this horse, and interest from 1780 till the final payment of the Revolutionary War debt. Mr. Whittlesey moved to strike out the interest. Root made a speech against the bill, and said he had known this claim to be good for nothing thirty years ago, and the horse, "Romulus," had been prancing about this hall from that day to this. Bouldin, who, from the Committee on Revolutionary Claims, had reported the bill, defended it, and Mark Alexander, of Virginia, made a short speech in its favor; but the interest was struck out. The bills were then reported to the House. Wickliffe asked for the yeas and nays upon the bill for Sizer. Hoffman made a warm speech against the bill, on the ground that there should be a general bill; but the vote was more than two to one to pass the bill for Sizer. The yeas and nays were also taken upon striking out the interest in the Dardin bill, and carried by a like majority. Then the yeas and nays were called for and ordered on the passage of the bill; but before they were taken an adjournment was moved and carried.

24th. T. R. Mitchell brought me a Charleston Mercury containing a letter from this place, referring to a declaration which I made to the Committee of Manufactures, that the adjustment of the tariff ought to be a matter of compromise; but the letter represents me as having taken the Southern side of the question, which I told Mitchell was not correct. J. Davis brought me another of the same papers containing the article. I shall hear enough of reverberation of it from the North. When I came home, I found a copy of that paper had been sent to

me, with that article marked; it is the Charleston Mercury of the 18th.

25th. I called this morning on Mr. McLane at the Treasury Department, and conversed with him respecting the resolution of the House calling upon him for information respecting the operation of the tariff and for a plan of reduction of the duties. He had written me a private note saying that he would appoint any person whom I should recommend as an agent to collect information. I said I had no person to recommend. He proposed that I should consult with Mr. Appleton and Mr. Davis on the subject. I told him I believed the reduction of the tariff must be a matter of compromise—something must be given up on both sides; there was so little of that spirit on either side that I had scarcely a hope of effecting anything; but that I believed the plan of reduction ought to come from the Treasury Department, and I for one should be disposed to give to such plan every aid in my power, so far as should be consistent with my duties. I should certainly not consent to sacrifice the manufacturing interest; but something of concession would be due from that interest to appease the discontents of the South. He concurred altogether with these opinions, and I told him I would soon see him again.

On my way to the Capitol I called upon Mr. Webster, and gave him my recollections with regard to the question in his note which I had received last evening. I gave him a rapid sketch of the history of the Colonial Trade question with Great Britain, and referred him specially to the instruction from President Washington to Gouverneur Morris in October, 1789. He said that was sufficient, and that he believed there would be a public discussion of the subject in the Senate hereafter.

26th. The Apportionment bill was taken up in committee of the whole. Howard made his speech for postponing the operation of the new apportionment till after the next Presidential and Congressional elections. He met no support. Armstrong, of Pennsylvania, Kerr, Craig, Polk, Beardsley, spoke successively against it, till at last McDuffie rose and begged that gentlemen would make no more speeches on *that* side. If there was another member in the House who thought with the mover of

the amendment, he should be happy to hear him, but, as it was very apparent there would not be ten votes in the House to sustain the motion, it was to be hoped nothing more would be said against it. Howard was more abashed with this short speech than by all the arguments against him, and withdrew his motion. J. W. Taylor then moved fifty-nine thousand—lost; then fifty-three thousand—lost; Craig moved fifty-one thousand—lost; Letcher, of Kentucky, moved forty-seven thousand—lost; forty-six thousand was also lost. The bill was then reported to the House without amendment. Wickliffe moved that it should be recommitted to a select committee of one member from each State, with instructions to strike out forty-eight thousand and to leave the number in blank. The House then adjourned about four. The nomination of Martin Van Buren as Minister to London was rejected yesterday by the casting vote of Vice-President Calhoun—twenty-three and twenty-three.

27th. The bill for carrying into effect a commercial arrangement with the republic of Colombia was taken up at the third reading, and an additional section introduced in it. Wickliffe asked if there was a republic of Colombia. Archer, the Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations, answered rather confusedly, admitting that there was no such republic, but still insisting upon the passage of the bill. I followed up Wickliffe's enquiry with others, which brought upon me, besides Archer, E. Everett and Cambreleng, and the bill passed by a large majority.

The bill for David Dardin's heirs followed. Mr. Claiborne, of Virginia, made a sort of mock-heroic speech, about half an hour long, in its favor. Mr. Root spoke again shortly, against it. Whittlesey produced, in a folio volume of manuscript reports from the Committee of Claims, a report made in 1810 by Root, as Chairman of the Committee of Claims, in its favor; but Root explained that the report was drawn up by Gholson, of Virginia; that he (Root) reported it as Chairman of the committee, but was against it himself, the committee being divided —four and three. It appeared that Root had voted against it in the House. Dearborn made a short speech in its favor—

said he had heard in the gallery twenty-five years ago a very eloquent speech in its favor, and had then been fully impressed that it was just. The question was now taken by yeas and nays, and the bill passed—one hundred and twenty-four to forty-six. The claim was good for nothing, but any opposition from me would have been as fruitless as it was from Root. I barely recorded my vote against it.

28th. The Senate have taken off the injunction of secrecy from their proceedings and debates on the nomination of Martin Van Buren as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Great Britain. Several of the speeches against him were published in the National Intelligencer this morning, and in reading them I was belated at the committee-room, which I reached not till a quarter-past eleven, instead of half-past ten. The members present were Condict, Horn, Dayan, and J. S. Barbour, who did not, however, stay the meeting, and Findlay and Worthington were absent. Dr. Condict produced the statement of Mr. Schenck, sworn to before a magistrate here; also hints for a remedial bill. Mr. Horn read a letter from a friend of his of the manufacturing interest. To remedy the frauds on the revenue in the importation of woolens, I proposed the discussion of the question whether the place of valuation of the imported article should be changed from the place whence exported to the port of importation. Dr. Condict inclined to the change. Schenck and Brown were against it, on account of the fluctuations in the market—much greater here than in England. Horn and Dayan were also against it, objecting that the operation of the principle of valuation here would require great additional labor at the custom-houses, and would produce a want of uniformity in the amount of duties payable on the same articles, according to the varying estimates of the Appraisers at different ports. I was requested to see and converse with the Secretary of the Treasury on these points; also on the expediency of rectifying the value of the pound sterling as fixed by law for our custom-houses, and also of shortening the terms of credit upon importations. I showed Dr. Condict an article circulating in the Southern newspapers about what I said in the Committee on Manufactures of the necessity of mutual conces-

sion between the manufacturing and the Southern planting interests in modifying the system of the tariff. It was grossly misrepresented. Dr. Condict said he had made the remark to the other members of the committee this morning.

I called at the Treasury Department, and waited some time in the antechamber. Met there Mr. Wing, delegate from Michigan, and Mr. Hassler afterwards came in with his reports in manuscript upon weights and measures at the custom-houses. I had half an hour's conversation with Mr. McLane. He strongly inclined to change the place of valuation of imported articles, as the best, if not the only, remedy against frauds in the importation of woolens. With regard to the shortening of the credit, and the rectification of the value of the pound sterling, he gave no decided opinion, but said he would answer the enquiries of the committee relating to the frauds at an early day. We think of reporting a separate bill upon that subject.

We had a company of gentlemen to dine, among whom the two agents of the French Government, De Beaumont and Tocqueville, who have been round to New Orleans and through the Western country since I met them at Mr. Biddle's, in Philadelphia. I had a long conversation with Beaumont after dinner. He had many enquiries respecting the political and literary institutions of this country. He complains of not having been able to obtain all the information he had desired on these subjects, but spoke with great satisfaction of what he had seen and heard at Boston.

29th. Chief-Justice Marshall and Judge Story visited me before dinner. The Chief Justice told me that the debate in the Legislature of Virginia upon the proposal for a gradual emancipation of the slaves in the State was closed by a majority of about twenty for postponement of the question, though in the form of rejecting the resolution—several of the members who voted against it declaring that they were individually in favor of it, but wished time and opportunity to ascertain the sentiments of the people concerning it.

30th. The Apportionment bill was taken up. Wickliffe's proposition to recommit the bill to a committee of twenty-four, one from each State, with instructions to strike out forty-

eight thousand and leave a blank, was rejected by yeas and nays—one hundred and fourteen to seventy-six. Mr. Hubbard then moved to strike out forty-eight and insert forty-four. This was a last and desperate chance. Wickliffe advised him not to specify the inserting number, because, he said, he would certainly lose it. But Hubbard insisted. As the question was about to be taken, Burges moved an adjournment, which was carried. The number of forty-eight thousand is so entrenched in the bill that it is obviously impossible to dislodge it.

31st. Mr. Johnston, of Louisiana, called upon me this morning with his colleague in the Senate, newly elected, Mr. Waggaman, who apologized for not having called upon me before. They found me reading the speeches still publishing upon the nomination to the Senate of Martin Van Buren as Minister to Great Britain. Hayne and Miller, from South Carolina, Poindexter, of Mississippi, and Moore, of Alabama, by uniting with them accomplished their object, with the casting vote of the Vice-President.

Mr. Johnston asked me if I knew anything of a treaty negotiated by G. W. Erving, in Spain, by which the Rio del Norte was to be the boundary between the United States and Mexico. I said there certainly never had been such a treaty. He said the President had assured them that there was, and that the proof of it was in the Department of State. I said I had no doubt this was one of G. W. Erving's lies, as there was not a greater liar upon earth; that I was persuaded that the only color for it that could be produced would be a letter from him written after the conclusion of the treaty with Onis, in which, detailing some interview that he had with the Spanish Minister, Pizarro, he had said something from which Erving pretended to infer that they would give up the boundary to the Rio Bravo.

Johnston said there was a treaty with Mexico now before the Senate which confirmed the boundary of the treaty with Spain; that the people of Louisiana did not wish for the province of Texas; but that the President believed in this treaty of Erving's.

I said I knew the President had been laboring very hard to

get this province of Texas; that he would not get it by treaty with Mexico; but I believed the increasing settlements in Texas were all from this country, and that the inhabitants would prefer to belong to the United States rather than to Mexico, and it might perhaps be taken, as Florida was taken in 1812. But there would be one difficulty in it, as slavery had been abolished in that country.

Johnston said that was only by a military decree, which the people there had resisted. It was only such a decree as Bolivar had issued in Colombia.

I walked to the Capitol. In the House, Mr. Jenifer's resolution was taken up, and, with an amendment of Mr. Archer, was referred to the same committee appointed upon the memorial presented yesterday by Dr. Condict. There was the same agitation which never fails to arise upon the approach to any topic connected with slavery. The Apportionment bill was taken up. On the motion to strike out forty-eight thousand, Slade made a long and sensible speech; Arnold, Kerr, Wilde, short ones. The yeas and nays were taken—ninety-four for, and ninety-nine against striking out. Hubbard then moved to strike out forty-eight thousand and insert forty-four thousand five hundred; upon which Wilde moved and carried an adjournment.

February 1st. The hour expired, and the Apportionment bill was called up. Hubbard replied at some length to the arguments against his motion. Sutherland, and McCarty of Indiana, spoke against him. I received a note in pencil from the Speaker, urging me to sum up in reply. It was four o'clock, and great impatience in the House for the question. I made a very short and incoherent speech, saying not half what I intended, and omitting several most forcible positions, which occurred to me after it was all over. I recurred to the Constitution, and to a calculation, showing that the committee which fixed the ratio at forty-eight thousand had taken special care of their own States. It brought up Barstow, of New York, to vindicate himself, and Polk to refute my positions. The question was taken by yeas and nays, and carried—ninety-eight to ninety-six—to strike out forty-eight thousand and insert forty-four thousand. Polk then told me that he would give up the

question. Holland, of Maine, who was on the committee, came to me with a calculation to show that Maine was better off with forty-four thousand than with forty-eight thousand. Bates, of Maine, had already announced that he should vote for forty-four thousand. Evans had been all along with us, and spoke this day for forty-four thousand. Wickliffe thanked me for my calculations, and said he had intended to present the same himself. Cambreleng congratulated me upon our success. I had despaired of the vote, and was overjoyed at the event. The whole bill was to be modified in conformity to the change in the ratio, and the House adjourned at half-past four. I rode home rejoicing, though much dissatisfied with my own performance.

2d. In the House, Mr. Everett's call for an article of the Chickasaw Treaty was taken up, and Mr. Polk, and Clay of Alabama, replied to Everett and Huntington. The hour expired, and the Apportionment bill was taken up. Mr. McKennan moved a reconsideration of the vote of yesterday. A third part of the House were in the Senate-chamber, to hear Mr. Clay in reply to Mr. Hayne and others, upon his resolution for an immediate repeal of duties. There was a call of the House, and upwards of twenty members were reported absent. After they had been two or three times called over, the doors were closed, and several excuses made in behalf of the sick. The Speaker then talked of sending the Sergeant-at-Arms to take the absent into custody, when, upon the motion of Mr. Irwin, of Ohio, the proceedings were suspended and the doors were opened. The vote of reconsideration was taken, and prevailed by one hundred to ninety-four. Two or three were absent who voted with us yesterday, and there were two or three deserters. The reconsideration placed the bill just where it was before the vote was taken yesterday—that is, it restored the number forty-eight thousand, with the motion of Mr. Hubbard to strike it out and insert forty-four thousand. Allan, of Kentucky, moved to recommit the bill, with instructions to reduce the ratio so that the number of the House would not exceed two hundred members. He asked the yeas and nays, and the motion was rejected by a vote of one hundred and sixty-four to thirty-six. The House then adjourned, between two and three o'clock. Mr.

Burges told me that the reconsideration of this day was the effect of interference by some of the Senators.

8th. At the House, Mr. McDuffie, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, presented his Tariff bill, which was in substance a project for reducing all imposts to a duty of twelve and a half per cent. ad valorem upon all importations. There was a long report with the bill. Mr. Ingersoll, a member of the committee, said that he dissented entirely from the bill and from the report of the majority, and, with one other member from Pennsylvania, should present a counter-report. Mr. Verplanck said that he differed both from the majority and minority of the committee, and should present his views either in a report of his own or upon the floor. There was some discussion upon the proposal to print five thousand copies of the report, but that lies over a day for consideration.

Mr. Mercer, from the Committee on Internal Improvement, moved the printing of a late report to the British House of Commons upon the use of steam-carriages upon common roads. This led to a discussion, till Mr. Polk called for the orders of the day. Several bills were read the third time and passed. The Apportionment bill was then taken up. The question upon Mr. Kerr's motion to strike out forty-eight thousand and insert forty-four thousand as the ratio was about to be taken by yeas and nays, and, as it appeared to be the last opportunity for pressing the smaller number, I again addressed the House in a very confused and ill-digested speech, presenting, however, some considerations which had not before been touched, and recurring particularly to the journal of the Convention of 1787 to show the principles upon which the representation had been established in the Constitution.

As usual, I omitted half what I had intended to say, and blundered in what I did say. I was answered at some length by Coulter, of Pennsylvania, Clay, of Alabama, and Polk, of Tennessee, and sustained by Wayne, of Georgia, and Letcher, of Kentucky, who tried, with success, the good effect of joking. The question was taken by yeas and nays, and resulted in a tie—ninety-seven and ninety-seven. The Speaker decided in favor of the change, and for the second time we carried our

vote. But we could not get the bill engrossed. Taylor moved to recommit the bill, with instructions to strike out forty-four thousand four hundred and insert fifty-three thousand, and took the yeas and nays. His motion was rejected—sixty-three to one hundred and twenty-six. McDuffie moved that the bill should be engrossed; but Mitchell, of South Carolina, moved to adjourn, and it was carried. So we shall lose it again to-morrow.

9th. Attended the joint committee of the two Houses on the proposed centennial celebration of Washington's birthday. They met in the committee-room of the military committee of the Senate. There were twenty-two members of the committee of the House present. Burges, of Rhode Island, and Duncan, of Illinois, were absent. The committee of the Senate consisted of Messrs. Clay, Webster, Chambers, Poindexter, and Bibb. It was agreed that the committees should act and vote separately. Mr. Clay was Chairman of the committee of the Senate, and Mr. Thomas, of Louisiana, who offered the resolution, Chairman of the committee of the House. There was much diversity of opinion, and much trifling debate. McCoy, of Virginia, and Thompson, of Georgia, were for reporting that it would not be expedient to hold any celebration of the day. Thompson made that motion, and, as it was opposed, rather stiffly urged it, till I observed it was a difference of opinion upon an important principle, on which I hoped the question would be fairly taken; upon which Thompson withdrew his motion.

Mr. Clay said there were two modes of celebrating the day which might be proposed: one, by the delivery of a sermon; the other, far less probable, by that of an oration. A motion was then made that Chief-Justice Marshall should be requested to deliver an oration upon that occasion, and, after some discussion, it was adopted. The Chairmen of the two committees were appointed a sub-committee to make the application, and to report his answer to an adjourned meeting of the joint committee to-morrow morning. There was some idle debate on the question whether, in the event of the Chief Justice declining, the sub-committee should be authorized to make application to any other person. Mr. Bell, of Tennessee, said there was but one other person to whom with any sort of propriety application

could be made if the Chief Justice should decline, and he was a member of the House itself. Without direct notice of this allusion, which was to me, I said it would perhaps be best not to anticipate that the Chief Justice would decline. I hoped he would not. If he should, I inclined to the belief that it would be best to make of it a religious ceremony and to have a sermon. The meeting then adjourned till to-morrow.

The Apportionment bill was taken up, and motion upon motion was made to strike out the numbers of forty-four thousand four hundred agreed upon yesterday, and the yeas and nays were taken six or seven times. Mr. Evans, of Maine, moved to strike out forty-four thousand four hundred and insert forty-four thousand three hundred, which would give Maine an additional member; Ashley, of Missouri, moved forty-two thousand three hundred; Clay, of Alabama, forty-seven thousand three hundred. A call of the House was demanded, and they prevailed upon Clayton, of Georgia, to move a reconsideration of the vote of yesterday, and then the House adjourned.

10th. Attended the centennial celebration committee. Chief-Justice Marshall declines delivering an oration, alleging his occupation and his infirmities. The letter from the sub-committee to him, and his answer, were read by Mr. Clay. The question what was next to be done ensued. Colonel Drayton offered a resolution that it would be inexpedient to have an oration. Mr. Bell, of Tennessee, Mr. Howard, of Maryland, and Dr. Condict, of New Jersey, intimated the wish that another application should be made. They did not name me, but were understood as referring to me. Dr. Condict had asked me privately whether I would undertake it, and I had noticed to him the objections in the way. Those objections, or others, were felt by a large majority of the committee, and Colonel Drayton's motion was adopted, with my vote and approbation. I was glad to be relieved from the necessity of undertaking this task, for the performance of which the time was too short.

It was then determined that the report should recommend that the two Houses of Congress should adjourn over from the 21st to the 23d of February, and that the Chaplains should be requested to perform divine service on that day; also that the

members of Congress should unite with their fellow-citizens in other festivities (a ball).

Then a resolution was proposed to take this opportunity to carry into effect a resolution of Congress for transporting the remains of Washington to be deposited under the Capitol on that day. This was much debated, and opposed by McCoy, of Virginia, Thompson, of Georgia, and Hall, of North Carolina. But it passed by a large majority. It was proposed by Wickliffe, of Kentucky. The two Chairmen were charged to make the report to the respective Houses, and the committees adjourned.

11th. On my way home I called upon the Secretary of the Treasury, and had a long conversation with him on the Tariff and Bank questions. I asked him when he expected to report upon the resolutions of the House calling on him for his plan. He thought not for several weeks. I observed with regard to the last conversation between us, that I found there was a determined opposition among the manufacturers to the change of the place of valuation, and to the abandonment of the graduated scale of minimums. He said that in his report in answer to the enquiries of the committee on that subject he should give estimates, but no opinions. We had company to dine—the names in the margin[1] above—and much conversation. I took too great a share in it. The art of entertaining is to *stimulate* conversation and to take in it very little part.

13th. Mr. Thomas, of Louisiana, Chairman of the committee for the House of the joint committee on the centennial celebration, made the joint report of arrangements, and presented two resolutions for carrying into effect the resolution of Congress of 19th December, 1799, to transfer the remains of George Washington to be entombed under the Capitol. These resolutions were debated till half-past five o'clock, and then adopted by yeas and nays—one hundred and nine to seventy-six. They

[1] Archer, W. S.; Brent, Daniel; Bullard, H. A.; Crawford, T. H.; Dayan, C.; Dickson, J.; Johnston, J. S.; Kendall, J. G.; Milligan, J. J.; Sprague, P.; and Wayne, J. M. Of these, Messrs. Johnston and Sprague were of the Senate, the rest Representatives, with the exception of Mr. Brent, long Chief Clerk in the Department of State.

were also debated and passed by yeas and nays in the Senate—twenty-one to fifteen.

14th. In the House, General Adair moved a resolution that the President of the United States and the members of the Administration should be invited to attend the ceremony of removing the remains of George Washington for interment under the Capitol. The Judges of the Supreme Court, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, James Madison, a former President of the United States, and the relatives of the Washington family, were added to the invitation. Mr. Cambreleng moved to add to the list the name of the late President of the United States, but at my request withdrew the motion. James Bates, of Maine, moved a resolution that the relative of Martha Washington, G. W. P. Custis, should be requested to permit that the remains of Martha Washington should be removed and deposited under the Capitol with those of her husband. This resolution was adopted, and concurred in by the Senate. They postponed Adair's resolution.

The Apportionment bill was then taken up. Mr. Clayton withdrew his motion for a reconsideration of the motion by which forty-four thousand four hundred had been adopted as the ratio. Evans of Maine's motion to reduce the ratio to forty-four thousand three hundred was then carried by yeas and nays, after which Polk, the Chairman of the committee which had reported the bill, moved a recommitment of the bill, with instructions to strike out forty-four thousand three hundred and insert forty-seven thousand seven hundred.

The effect of this was to give an additional member to each of the three States of Georgia, Kentucky, and New York, and it bought the votes of a sufficient number of the delegations of those States to carry the majority. It had been settled out-of-doors, like everything else upon this bill. It prevailed by yeas and nays—one hundred and four to ninety-one.

15th. I passed an entirely sleepless night. The iniquity of the Apportionment bill, and the disreputable means by which so partial and unjust a distribution of the representation had been effected, agitated me so that I could not close my eyes. I

was all night meditating in search of some device, if it were possible, to avert the heavy blow from the State of Massachusetts and from New England. I drew up this morning a short paper to show to the members of the Pennsylvania delegation, appealing to their justice and generosity as umpires upon this question. Walking up to the Capitol, I met Mr. Webster, and spoke to him upon the subject. He said he would make a dead set against the bill in the Senate. I gave my paper to Mr. McKennan, of Pennsylvania, the member who voted for us when we carried the ratio of forty-four thousand and the next morning moved for a reconsideration. I asked him to show the paper to the other members of the Pennsylvania delegation; and he did to some of them. I spoke to Crawford, who said he was willing to take our number, and to Sutherland, who said he would if the Senate would send back the bill with forty-six thousand for the ratio.

In the House the bill was taken up, and Polk, from the committee, reported not only the number of forty-seven thousand seven hundred, as instructed, but all the remnant of the bill, with the number of Representatives for each State, which was not within the charge of the committee. When the report was received, an amendment was moved, to substitute forty-five thousand five hundred for forty-seven thousand seven hundred. McDuffie moved the previous question, upon the plea of saving time and useless debate; but he could not carry it. Then Polk made it a point of order that, the House having instructed the committee to report a number, no motion of amendment by another number could be received. The Speaker decided that it could. McDuffie pronouncing the decision perfectly absurd, Polk insisted, persisted, and appealed from the decision of the Speaker, who read from the manual a rule which I thought fully sustained him. McDuffie pronounced it inapplicable; but Polk withdrew his appeal. Many numbers, down to forty-two thousand and up to fifty-nine thousand, were moved and rejected, and lastly the number reported by the committee, forty-seven thousand seven hundred, was adopted, and the bill ordered to be engrossed for a third reading. I hung my harp upon the willow.

The Senate passed in amended form the second resolution sent them yesterday by the House. They struck out all invitations, and made of the resolution a request to the President of the United States to superintend the removal, and deposit under the Capitol, of Washington's remains. The House concurred in the amendment.

16th. At the opening of the sitting of the House, the Speaker announced the correspondence between the Vice-President with himself and John A. Washington, the present proprietor of Mount Vernon, and George W. P. Custis, the grandson of Mrs. Martha Washington. John A. Washington declines giving permission that the remains of George Washington should be removed from Mount Vernon, though Mr. Custis does consent that those of Mrs. Martha Washington should be removed. They must remain where they are. This affair is therefore now settled.

The bill for the allowance of the claims of South Carolina was now taken up. Mr. Whittlesey moved to strike out the first and second sections, which provided for the payment of interest. His reason was, that there is now before the House a general bill from the Senate for the settlement of claims for interest of all the States having such claims arising from the late war. This amendment was not carried. I said a few words in favor of it, in answer to Mr. Burges. I was fully prepared to reply to the joint assault upon me made by him and Edward Everett when the bill was last before the House. But I saw that all parties had agreed to pass the bill; that further opposition to it would be vain; that in the House it would be a waste of time; that out of the House no interest would be taken in the subject; and I therefore suppressed my feelings and my speech. Whittlesey called for the yeas and nays, and the bill passed to a third reading, with, I think, only forty-six votes against it.

17th. Attended a meeting of the members of the delegation from Massachusetts in both Houses of Congress, at ten this morning, in the committee-room of the Committee on Manufactures of the House. The two Senators were present, and all the members of the House excepting General Dearborn. Mr.

Everett retired soon after the meeting was opened. I had called the meeting, and stated that my object was that we should consult together to ascertain if we could not devise means of obtaining some modification of this Apportionment bill. I read to them the paper that I had drawn up and submitted through Mr. McKennan to the members of the Pennsylvania delegation. The bill is now before the Senate. Mr. Webster said he would move its reference to a select committee, and there endeavor to obtain a proposal of amendment to reduce the ratio of apportionment to forty-four thousand. It was agreed that the members of the delegation in the House should converse with those from Pennsylvania, and expostulate with them upon this outrageous injustice to Massachusetts and to all New England. I also invited the attention of the meeting to the attitude assumed by Pennsylvania in the Union for the last four or five years. She has taken the lead of the general policy of the country from Virginia, and she is exercising it certainly for her own advantage—it might deserve enquiry whether for that of the whole Union. She had settled the election both of President and Vice-President to her own satisfaction. She was now doing the same again. The tariff was her tariff. The bank was her bank. They are now before us for further enquiry, and it might be well to consider the subject with reference to the interests of the whole as well as to the special interests of Pennsylvania. She had heretofore valued herself upon being an unambitious State, and the complaint to her had perhaps too strongly been against Virginia, of leading or misleading the Union. Virginia has now become a State of subservient policy, and is internally so much convulsed as to be deserving rather of compassion than of envy. Pennsylvania has become the domineering State, and her exercise of her supremacy is not encouraging. I read also an extract of a letter I received two days since from Governor Lincoln, stating the interest taken there in the Apportionment bill, and the mortification experienced at the reversal of the decision for a ratio of forty-four thousand.

19th. Stansberry, the reporter for the Intelligencer, was not in the House when I made the speech upon the Apportionment

bill on the 8th inst. Notes, more imperfect than the speech itself, were taken by their other reporter, and Seaton gave them to me two days ago, requesting me to revise them. From them I am writing off the whole speech—a task not without labor, and which absorbs all the time I have at home. Stansberry reports very correctly, but if he is not there the reports are so defective that a speaker who has any regard for his own reputation, or for the effect of his speeches upon the public mind, must write them off, either before or after delivering them. This consideration, with many others, should admonish me against all loquaciousness in the House. Let the lesson not be lost.

20th. This was a heavily rainy, gloomy day. I rode to the Capitol. Being Monday, the States were successively called for presentation of petitions; a most tedious operation in the practice, though to a reflecting mind a very striking exemplification of the magnificent grandeur of this nation and of the sublime principles upon which our Government is founded. The forms and proceedings of the House, this calling over of States for petitions, the colossal emblem of the Union over the Speaker's chair, the historic Muse at the clock, the echoing pillars of the hall, the tripping Mercuries who bear the resolutions and amendments between the members and the chair, the calls of ayes and noes, with the different intonations of the answers from the different voices, the gobbling manner of the Clerk in reading over the names, the tone of the Speaker in announcing the vote, and the varied shades of pleasure and pain in the countenances of the members on hearing it, would form a fine subject for a descriptive poem. There was little done in the House after receiving the petitions. There was a bill for the relief of insolvent debtors, partly discussed, and postponed; a question upon printing papers relating to railways and canals, in which Mercer and Ellsworth took part. But the House was thin, the day was dark, and Carson, before three, moved to adjourn, because it was so melancholy. They accordingly adjourned—to the great indignation of Hubbard, of New Hampshire, who has the claimants for Revolutionary pensions in charge and burns with zeal to assist them. He

asked for the yeas and nays on the adjournment, and, to fool him into fury, they were refused. He went out of the House almost sputtering with rage.

I had received an invitation from E. F. Chambers and others, committee of a party for a public dinner at Barnard's on the centennial day, to attend the dinner as a guest. J. S. Johnston told me that they wanted me not only to attend, but to make toasts for them, and a speech. I said my health would not permit me to attend, and that I was a bad toast-maker, as he knew. I might have added I was a worse speech-maker. Mr. Clay spoke to me, and asked when the Committee on Manufactures would report. I said, not for several weeks. He asked if we should not notice McDuffie's anti-tariff report and Gallatin's memorial. I said we should probably meet some of their arguments. He said he had been so much occupied that he had not found time to read them. I told him that McDuffie's report was one of his dinner-speeches without its fury. I had read only a small part of Mr. Gallatin's memorial. I said my attention had, quite unexpectedly to myself, but necessarily, been diverted from the tariff to this iniquitous Apportionment bill. He said it was a very unjust one, and they would endeavor to change the ratio in the Senate, but they had got a very bad committee. I said something to him of my plan for a representation of the whole people, and he referred me to a mode of giving a representation to fractions in the Constitution of Kentucky. General Samuel Smith accosted me, and immediately began upon his new controversy with Mr. Clay. He appeared to be deeply wounded. Clay treated him with such extreme severity that Smith, who has fourscore years upon his head, is, as my father used to say, upon the compassionate list. All parties think Clay pressed him too hard. Smith told me, almost with tears in his eyes, that he had come with a deliberate resolution by all possible means to avoid all controversy whatever with Mr. Clay, and he intimated a wish that I would give him a written confirmation of his statement of what passed between him and me relating to the British statute concerning the Colonial trade. I told him I would give him such a statement if he desired it, but I saw no necessity of it for him, inasmuch

as Mr. Clay had not denied the correctness of that part of his statement. There was no issue between them upon that point. Smith said my father had once appealed to him for a statement, which he had very cheerfully given him. The truth is, that in dissuading him from his demand of a certificate from me I mean it in kindness, for if I do give it, the truth will bear harder upon him than anything that has been said of him by Mr. Clay.

21st. In the House, business was not much better than yesterday. House very thin. Mr. Wirt was arguing a cause before the U. S. Supreme Court for certain missionaries to the Indians imprisoned by the State of Georgia. This is a cause of deep interest, and there were fifty or sixty members of the House who left their seats to hear him.

Everett's resolution was called up. He modified it again, proposing to refer it to the Committee on Public Lands, with power to send for persons and papers, and to report such measures as they should deem expedient in the premises. Everett had discovered that he could do nothing with his enquiry while it was in his own hands. Wickliffe is Chairman of the Committee of Public Lands. He has been a fiery red Jackson man, but is coming over to Clay. He published yesterday a correspondence about an attempt of his, in January, 1830, to prevail upon General Jackson to hold Cabinet councils. Wickliffe convoked a caucus of five Kentuckians and three Tennesseeans to effect this. Eaton and the Globe newspaper have represented this as a caucus of Calhounites to get Eaton turned out from his office of Secretary of War. Wickliffe publishes certificates and letters from the five Kentuckians utterly denying this; but the three Tennesseeans, White, Grundy, and Polk, decline answering. The Globe declines publishing the correspondence, and Wickliffe publishes it in the National Intelligencer.

This new movement of Everett's unhinged entirely the household troops in the House. Bell, of Tennessee, moved the reference to the Committee on Indian Affairs, of which he is himself Chairman. Drayton moved to refer it to the Committee on the Judiciary. Wilde, of Georgia, moved to post-

pone the question for a fortnight. Wickliffe rose to discuss the question, and the Speaker pronounced it not debatable. Wickliffe appealed from the decision, and the Speaker, evidently wrong, after a moment of reflection, gave up the point. Davis, of South Carolina, Chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, said that, disguise this matter as we might, it was a charge of fraud upon a public officer of the Government, with which the Committee on the Judiciary had nothing to do, and he hoped it would not be referred to them, but to the Committee on Public Lands. J. W. Taylor twice moved the previous question, and the second time succeeded. The postponement for two weeks was rejected, and the reference to the Committee on Public Lands carried by yeas and nays—ninety-two to seventy-six; an extreme relief to Everett, and a severe annoyance to the Tennesseean, as well as a high gratification to Wickliffe, affording him a good vehicle for his transit. I gave Gales my speech of the 8th on the Apportionment bill, with a request that he would publish it as soon as possible, and furnish me a hundred copies of it extra; which he promised me. I asked Mr. Webster, who came into the lobby of the House, to read my speech before the debate upon the bill should come on in the Senate. He said he would. The committee of the Senate have reported the bill without amendment. Mr. Blair, of South Carolina, gave Mr. Webster and me a letter from a Mr. Witherspoon to read. It proposes, in the event of Congress's doing nothing satisfactory to them about the tariff, to secede from the Union. They make a great distinction between this and nullification. I told Blair I had heard the nullifiers would oppose them in the project of seceding. He said he supposed they would. They did not want to have the tariff repealed. The House adjourned, soon after two o'clock, over till Wednesday.

There is a tart correspondence between Senator Poindexter, from Mississippi, and Hoffman, of New York, approximating to a duel, in the newspapers of this day. W. R. Davis, of South Carolina, is Poindexter's friend.

22d. Centennial birthday of Washington. The solemnities intended for this day at this place lost all their interest for me by the refusal of John A. Washington to permit the remains of

George Washington to be transferred to be entombed under the Capitol—a refusal to which I believe he was not competent, and into the real operative motives to which I wish not to enquire. I did wish that this resolution might have been carried into execution, but this wish was connected with an imagination that this federative Union was to last for ages. I now disbelieve its duration for twenty years, and doubt its continuance for five. It is falling into the sere and yellow leaf. For this, among other reasons, I determined that my celebration of this day should only be by sharing in its devotions. I attended the performance of divine service at the Capitol, where a very ordinary prayer was made by Mr. Post, the Chaplain to the House of Representatives, and a singular, though not ineloquent, sermon was delivered by Mr. Durbin, Chaplain to the Senate. His text was from Revelation, iv. 11: "Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honor and power: for Thou hast created all things, and for Thy pleasure they are and were created." The discourse was not written, nor was it composed to be preserved. It was extemporaneous, and yet well suited to the occasion. It exalted the character of Washington perhaps too much. There were close approaches to the expression of a belief that there was something supernatural in his existence. There seemed little wanting to bring out a theory that he was a second Saviour of mankind. That he had a charmed life, and was protected by a special Providence, was explicitly avowed as a belief. The religious character of Washington was dwelt on with great emphasis. The House was well filled, but not crowded. The 148th and 100th Psalms were sung without instrumental music, and a hymn at the close. The Vice-President and Speaker of the House of Representatives were there, and the Judges of the Supreme Court, but neither the President of the United States nor any member of his Cabinet.

23d. At the House, Drayton had offered a resolution for altering the rule of the House which devotes Fridays and Saturdays to the consideration of private business, so that Saturday alone should be thus specially appropriated. Various amendments were proposed, and, after a discussion of two hours or more, they were all rejected, as well as the motion itself.

There ought to be no private business before Congress. There is a great defect in our institutions by the want of a Court of Exchequer or Chamber of Accounts. It is judicial business, and legislative assemblies ought to have nothing to do with it. One-half of the time of Congress is consumed by it, and there is no common rule of justice for any two of the cases decided. A deliberative assembly is the worst of all tribunals for the administration of justice.

Mr. Clayton, of Georgia, smuggled in, by consent of the House, a motion for the appointment of a select committee to examine into the affairs of the Bank of the United States, with power to send for persons and papers. It must lie over a day for consideration.

The orders of the day were postponed, and the General Appropriation was taken up in committee of the whole—J. W. Taylor in the chair. I fully intended not to have opened my lips on this bill, and my purpose is as seldom as possible to enter into any debate. But the impulse to take part is continually recurring, and I cannot always resist it. I rose this day twice—once to support a contested item of appropriation for surveying of the public lands, and once to object to an amendment proposed by Archer, Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations. The appropriation which I supported was adopted. The amendment proposed by Archer was to add thirty-five thousand, for contingencies, to an item of twenty-five hundred dollars for a dragoman at Constantinople. I asked what it was for. Archer declined giving the information, but said that the committee, composed of members entertaining different political opinions, were unanimous in recommending the amendment. I still objected, though declaring my confidence in the committee. My opposition would probably have been of no avail, but McDuffie joined in it, and in his peremptory tone said the information must and should be given; if the committee chose, it might be given to the House, but given it must be. The amendment was then rejected without counting.

25th. In the House, Mr. Branch's resolution was taken up. Mr. White, of Florida, moved an amendment, which brought on an extremely violent debate between them, full of the most

offensive personalities; charges of direct falsehood cast to and fro—Branch accusing White of speculating, to pocket some hundreds of dollars, upon the Government and upon his constituents, and White retorting that Branch had wasted forty-five thousand dollars of public money upon useless agencies in this business, and had appointed last winter one of his near relatives on this service, and increased his salary six hundred dollars after his own dismission from office. This was continued, by speech and counter-speech, for nearly two hours. Carson was beginning to speak on the side of Branch, when the Speaker stopped him, and said he had indulged Mr. Branch on account of the peculiar situation he was in with reference to the Executive office he had recently held, and in which his conduct had been made a topic of animadversion, but that this indulgence could be extended no further. Branch finally acceded to White's amendment, with a modification suggested by Wickliffe, and the resolution was adopted.

27th. Attended the House at noon. Petitions called for by States. My resolution, with an additional call for copies of the negotiations with Turkey from the year 1819, was adopted without opposition. Archer, Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations, declared he had no objection to it; and Root came to me and apologized for having objected to the reception of my motion last Friday. He said if he had known it was political he would not have objected.

Mr. Clayton's motion for a select committee to investigate the affairs of the Bank of the United States was called up, and there was some question whether it should be considered. Upon this the yeas and nays were not taken, though called. Clayton was suffered to proceed, and read from a paper fifteen charges—as he said, articles of indictment, which he said could be proved against the direction of the bank, and upon which he commented rather feebly.

McDuffie answered him instanter, taking his paper, reading his charges successively, and refuting them one by one, perhaps too much at length, but completely showing that they were either ordinary, lawful, and useful operations of the bank, or frauds of a gross and sordid kind, of which there was no evi-

dence even sufficient to lay the foundation for a justifiable suspicion. Mr. Patton, of Virginia, rose, but, being reminded by the Speaker that it was within a few minutes of four o'clock, moved an adjournment, which immediately took place.

Judge Baldwin sent and called me out from my seat to say that he wished to have some conversation with me upon the Tariff, as we had once had upon the Missouri question. I told him the only leisure time I had was in the evening; and he promised to call upon me to-morrow evening at six o'clock.

Mr. Carson, of North Carolina, told me that the Speaker, Stevenson, had informed him that they were determined to run for Van Buren as Vice-President, even in North Carolina; and that he had answered him, "If you carry him, it shall be over my dead body."

28th. Judge Baldwin was here this evening, and unfolded to me his plan for the settlement of the Tariff question. It is simple enough—twenty per cent. upon all importations of articles, whether with or without foreign competition; then gradually shortened credits, finally to be turned into cash payments, and a considerable duty upon sales at auction. This is his panacea. He has revealed it to General Hayne and to Mr. McDuffie, who did not tell him that they or the South would be satisfied with it, but Hayne told him that he wished one of the Senators from Pennsylvania would bring it forward. He has also conferred upon the subject with the President and with the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. McLane. The President is entirely in favor of his plan, and will support it. The Secretary of the Treasury had objections to it, but, upon explanations given, they were so far removed that he will also probably support the plan. But, if he should not, the President will. Judge Baldwin said he had told the President that he considered his plan of so much importance that he would go to any quarter for support to it, even to Mr. Clay. The Judge assured me that he would always be ready to give me any information that I might desire. I have considerable doubts of the efficacy of his plan, or whether it will prove acceptable; but it will deserve grave consideration.

March 1st. In the House, the resolution of Mr. Clayton pro-

posing the appointment of a select committee to investigate his fifteen charges against the Bank of the United States came up. Thomas R. Mitchell made a speech of two hours against the bank. H. Denny, Colonel Watmough, and Mr. Ellsworth supported it. Foster, of Georgia, and Cambreleng, replied. Watmough moved an amendment to Clayton's resolution, to be referred to the Committee of Ways and Means, and then McDuffie gave up the whole ground, and advised Watmough to withdraw his amendment and let Clayton have his committee in his own way. The House adjourned at four o'clock without taking the question. But I conclude that McDuffie has betrayed and sacrificed the bank. His surrender was unexpected to me, but it is not uncongenial to the obliquity of his politics and the unsteadiness of his mind. I had, fortunately, taken no part in this debate, and it is a new warning to me to forbear all volunteering upon such treacherous ground as that covered by the floor of the House. I am constantly tempted to speak, and yet have continual demonstration that I should only expose myself to mortification and be surely deserted, even by those whom I would wish to serve and sustain.

The Apportionment bill was taken up in the Senate, where Mr. Webster made an eloquent speech—I fear to no purpose. If reason or argument could effect anything at this time, I should hope that a great and inveterate defect in the apportionment laws might be remedied. But the conviction is pressed upon me more and more, from day to day, of my utter inability to render any valuable service to the country. I would not prematurely despair of the republic, but my forebodings are dark, and the worst of them is in contemplating the precipice before us—yawning at our feet from the very pinnacle of prosperity to which we have been raised, and on which we stand.

2d. At the House, a joint resolution passed authorizing the Secretary of State to employ clerks to record the patents in the Patent Office. This resolution has passed "sub silentio," without opposition and without notice—a contrast sufficiently striking with the retrenchment proceedings of 1828. Mr. Clayton of Georgia's resolution for a committee to investigate the direction of the bank was taken up, and he made a tiresome

speech of an hour, in which he barely reached the threshold of his subject. The orders of the day were called for, and the Speaker ruled that the recent alteration of the seventeenth rule did not extend to the days of private business—Fridays and Saturdays; that on those days, therefore, the orders of the day could not be set aside by a bare majority of the House. A motion was made to suspend the rule, to allow Mr. Clayton to finish his speech. It very nearly prevailed—the vote being ninety-six to fifty-four—but, the majority not amounting to two-thirds, Mr. Clayton was silenced for the day.

Colonel Richard M. Johnson asked me to walk with him, and said he wished to speak with me of the state of the personal relations between the President, Jackson, and me; that he (Johnson) wished the relations of friendly personal intercourse between us to be restored, and that he thought the first advances to it should be made by him. He had also spoken of it to Mr. Cass, the Secretary of War, who agreed with him on this point.

I said that the personal intercourse between General Jackson and me had been suspended by himself, without informing me of the reason why. I had never known his reason. I had seen at the time in the Telegraph an anonymous statement that it was because *he knew* that I had caused or countenanced abusive charges against Mrs. Jackson in the newspapers. The fact was not so. I never had caused or countenanced, directly or indirectly, any such publication. But General Jackson had never asked of me the question, and I did not deem it necessary to notice anonymous charges in the Telegraph.

Colonel Johnson said he had always been sure it was so; that General Jackson had come here with dispositions entirely friendly to me, and intending to call upon me; that his mind had been poisoned here by scoundrel office-seekers; that he was a warm-tempered, passionate man, and had been led to believe that I was the cause of those publications against his wife; but that he (Johnson) knew that the President's feelings were now as friendly to me as they had ever been. He had told him that at the time of the debate in the House of Representatives on the Seminole War questions he had received

more assistance from me, in drawing up the minority report of the military committee, than from all the world beside. He did not now speak by the authority of General Jackson, but he knew that his disposition towards me was friendly, and had no doubt, if a friendly advance from him would be accepted by me, that he would make it.

I said I had no desire that the interruption of social intercourse between us should continue, and was disposed to receive any friendly advance from General Jackson with kindness.

He asked if I would accept an invitation to dine with him.

I said, no; that was an act of mere ordinary courtesy, usually paid to every member of Congress, which I could not consider as an advance towards reconciliation.

He asked if I would accept an invitation to a small and select party of friends.

I said that would be liable to the same objection. It would pass for mere civility to a member of Congress, and be set to the account of my present situation.

He then asked what I should myself think proper.

I said it was not for me to prescribe. I could only say that I was willing to receive in a spirit of conciliation any advance which in that spirit General Jackson might make. With this the Colonel was satisfied, and we parted. But it has placed me again in a situation of the delicacy of which it is my duty to be profoundly sensible.

3d. I received from Colonel Richard M. Johnson a note without date or signature, which I copy for curiosity: "General Jackson expressed great satisfaction that I had the conversation with you which I detailed to him, and expressed a wish that I should assure you of his personal regard and friendship, and was anxious to have a social and friendly intercourse restored between you. There I left it, and have satisfied my own mind. I shall communicate to Governor Cass the same; and there it rests with me, having done what my heart suggested. The President expresses himself as perfectly satisfied now that you never did countenance the publications to which I alluded, and entertains for you the highest opinion as a man of honor, etc. Please destroy this when you read it."

So far so good. The President is now perfectly satisfied that I never countenanced the newspaper publications against his wife, and wishes the relations of social intercourse to be restored between us. Colonel Johnson is to tell this to Governor Cass, and there leaves it. And what is now my duty to myself and to the country? To seek Governor Cass? No; but to return to Colonel Johnson his paper instead of destroying it, letting him know that I have a copy of it, to thank him for the conciliatory part he has taken in this affair, and to assure him of my gratification that the President is satisfied I countenanced no newspaper publications against his wife. A restoration of friendly, social, and personal intercourse between President Jackson and me at this time would attract much public notice, and could not fail to expose me to obloquy. The old federal party, now devoted to Mr. Clay, have already more than once tried their hands at slandering me. They have drawn the sword and brandished it over my head. If I set my foot in the President's house, they will throw away the scabbard. I must, therefore, walk with extreme circumspection; even that will not protect me from their malignity. Something is due to myself; and the path is narrow to avoid on the one hand the charge of an implacable temper, and on the other of eagerness to propitiate the dispenser of power.

The judgment of the Supreme Court was delivered this morning upon the case of the missionaries to the Cherokees imprisoned in Georgia. It pronounces the statute of Georgia under which they are imprisoned unconstitutional.

4th. I received by the mail several letters, and with one of them a memorial, signed by several thousand persons, upon the existing relations between the United States and the Cherokee tribe of Indians and the imprisonment of the missionaries. The memorial was the result of a very numerous meeting at New York, and a letter from a committee of the signers requested me to present and support it. Blunt wrote to me some days since, and mentioned that this memorial would be sent to me, and I had intended to answer him declining to present it. But his letter had escaped from my memory, and remained unanswered. I now concluded, though after much hesitation, to

present it to-morrow morning, well assured that it will be of no avail, but willing to perform to the utmost of my power my duty.

5th. At the House it was the day for calling petitions, and at the call of Massachusetts I presented the memorial from New York concerning the Cherokees and the missionaries imprisoned in Georgia. It was read at my request, and I moved that it should be printed and referred to a select committee.

This immediately gave rise to a debate, which consumed the day. Speight moved its reference to the Committee on Indian Affairs. Bell, Chairman of that committee, made one of those speeches common in the House when a subject comes upon them unexpectedly—arguing against the reception of the memorial, but closing with a repetition of Speight's motion. The Georgia members were variously affected—Clayton raved, and said that before the decree of the Supreme Court should be carried into execution Georgia should be made a wilderness. Thompson, of Georgia, finally moved that the memorial be laid on the table. The question was taken by yeas and nays—ninety-one for, ninety-two against laying on the table.

The vote was first thought to be carried, for Stewart, of Pennsylvania, had voted in the affirmative by mistake. He corrected it before the decision was announced. Wayne then attempted to move a postponement of consideration for a fortnight. Drayton actually moved a postponement. John Davis moved a reference to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union. Everett had proposed this to me, and said it was an understanding between the parties that the subject should be discussed in committee of the whole on the Union. This was personally satisfactory to me, but did not discharge my duty to the memorialists. Stewart moved the previous question, but withdrew it at my request to give me the opportunity to give my reasons for not assenting to Davis's proposition. Beardsley, of New York, followed with an argument that the memorial should be laid on the table. He said he thought I should have moved that myself.

Cambreleng noticed that the memorial, though from New York, was not presented by any of the Representatives from that city.

I said I had reason to believe that it was from no disrespect to the members from New York that the memorial had been sent to me, but from a belief that it would be an unpleasing task to them. It was no pleasing one to me. I had wished to decline it, but, after examining the contents of the memorial, had deemed it my duty to present it. The House was now in possession of it, and would dispose of it as they thought best.

Stewart renewed his call for the previous question, which was seconded and taken. Wickliffe moved that the vote should be taken upon the simple question of commitment. I asked for the yeas and nays, and they were taken. The commitment was carried—ninety-six to ninety-three; and then it was referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, without a division. This decision is precisely what I wished; though, having moved for a select committee, I did not feel at liberty to assent to it. In committee of the whole on the state of the Union I may leave it to the management of other hands, and may take any part or no part in the debate, as I may think proper. The three members from the city of New York voted to lay the memorial on the table. Cambreleng and White voted against the commitment; Verplanck for it. I returned to Colonel Richard M. Johnson his note, and told him I had taken a copy of it; which he approved. I thanked him for the part he had taken in this affair, which I believe proceeded on his part from a good intention.

6th. I overtook Mr. Cambreleng walking to the Capitol, and apologized to him for having presented the memorial—it being considered as a courtesy that every member should present petitions from his own particular constituents.

After the States had been called over, reports from standing committees and reports from select committees were called for by the Speaker. The first order of the day then was the resolution of Mr. Clayton, of Georgia, upon which he made a speech of three hours and more, repeating and reinforcing all the charges of his indictment against the Bank of the United States. He was very tiresome, but the House listened to him with much attention, excepting that a large portion of the seats were deserted. When he finished, he announced that all he

had till then said was mere inducement, and he had a great deal more to say, but would detain the House no longer. As he sat down, ten or twelve members sprung up to speak, among whom were Wayne, of Georgia, and Root, of New York. The Speaker said Root had the floor. Wayne asked him to yield it for a moment to allow him to offer an amendment to his colleague's resolution, which would give him something to talk about. There was a laugh in the House at the implied sarcasm of Wayne upon Clayton, as if his three hours' speech was not worth answering; but Root said he had enough to talk about, and refused to yield the floor. He moved that the House should adjourn; which was carried.

I saw in the House Mr. Webster and Mr. Seymour, of the Senate. They had the Apportionment bill before them, with an amendment proposed by Mr. Webster, of the success of which he is doubtful.

7th. In the House, after the usual introductory business of the morning, Mr. Clayton's resolution for a committee to investigate the affairs of the bank was immediately taken up. General Root made a speech of about an hour in favor of *a* Bank of the United States; and moved that the investigating committee should consist of seven, and be chosen by ballot. Crawford, of Pennsylvania, and Evans, of Maine, also in favor of a choice of the committee by ballot. Then Beardsley, of New York, in a speech of near two hours, made a joint attack upon the bank and upon General Root. His personalities were of the most offensive character. He continued till past four, when the House adjourned, leaving his speech yet unfinished. Mr. Root had spoken irreverently of the proceedings of what are called the Albany Regency—the predominant party in the State of New York, and partisans of Mr. Van Buren. Pendleton says there are in the House but three partisans of Root, eight Anti-Masons, two National Republicans, and twenty-one Regency men.

8th. At the House, almost immediately after their meeting, Mr. Clayton's resolution was resumed. Mr. Beardsley finished his speech, and renewed his attacks upon the bank, and upon General Root, who replied with equal acrimony, and fully di-

vulged the cabalistic political combination of the New York banks and their safety fund.

Bell, of Tennessee, then made a speech of an hour and a half against the chartering of the bank at this session; and his principal argument was with reference to the President's opinions and to his proceedings respecting the bank.

The question was taken upon Root's proposed amendment, to choose the committee by ballot, and by yeas and nays it was rejected—eighty-eight to ninety-two. Only one hundred and eighty members voted. There were, of course, about sixteen accidentally or otherwise absent—for the most part skulkers. Mr. Wayne then moved a long amendment to Clayton's resolution; he proposes a committee to sit during the recess, and to report to the next session of Congress. Mr. Burges, of Rhode Island, proposed an amendment to this amendment. There were several very sharply-debated points of order, in one of which Mr. Wayne spoke of Root with great indignation and contempt. McDuffie justified Root, but Root himself made no reply. There were motions for printing the amendments both of Wayne and Burges; but before any decision Dr. Condict moved an adjournment, which was carried.

9th. We found the House in session. Mr. Clayton's bank resolution was immediately taken up. The amendment proposed by Mr. Wayne was another resolution, and Mr. Burges's still another. Burges proposed a postponement till Monday, and that the resolution and both amendments should, in the mean time, be printed. Speight raised a question of order, whether Burges's proposal for a committee of seven to be appointed by ballot could be received after the rejection of Root's motion yesterday.

The Speaker inclined to think it not in order, but had not read Burges's amendment.

Everett pointed out differences between the motions, but the Speaker decided the committee of seven to be chosen by ballot was out of order. Then Burges, at the suggestion of Wickliffe, moved a committee of eight, which the Speaker thought was in order.

McDuffie rose, and, with some impatience, said the great evil

above all others in this case was delay; that it was of infinite importance that the House should do what it meant to do at once. Wayne started up and asked if the *evil* of which the gentleman spoke was evil to the country or to the bank.

McDuffie turned pale, and replied that he must say the course of the gentleman from Georgia in the House was intolerably supercilious and impertinent.

Wayne rose again. His eyes flashed with fire, and he in substance told him that if he wished to give proof of manhood it must be elsewhere.

They were called to order, and the Speaker said the observations made on both sides had been very improper.

Barstow, of New York, moved a reconsideration of the vote yesterday, which rejected Root's motion for the choice of the committee by ballot. He said he had not changed his opinion, and should vote the same way again, but some of his friends absent yesterday had requested him to give them an opportunity to vote, and he was willing to gratify them. The vote was accordingly taken, after a call of the House, and the reconsideration prevailed—ninety-eight to ninety-three; still a small vote.

Before the House adjourned, C. F. Mercer, referring to the wrangle that had taken place between Wayne and McDuffie, said he hoped they would be reconciled. He called upon them according to Parliamentary usage sanctioned by practice in England. He stated what had been first said in the warmth of debate by Wayne, without intention, he had no doubt, but which he thought was justly offensive to McDuffie. He called upon Wayne to disavow the offensive intention. Wayne said he was convinced by the opinion of his friends around him that what he had said in the heat of debate was susceptible of an offensive imputation upon McDuffie. He disclaimed all such intention, and declared his full conviction of the patriotic spirit of the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means.

McDuffie declared himself entirely satisfied, and said that he retracted the words he had used with infinitely more pleasure than it had given him pain to speak them. Mr. Wayne then complimented him upon his spirit, and the House adjourned.

11th. I read attentively after church the opinion of the Su-

preme Court of the United States, delivered by Chief-Justice Marshall, in the case of Worcester, the missionary, against the State of Georgia. It pronounces the law of Georgia under which Mr. Worcester is imprisoned in the penitentiary unconstitutional, null and void. There is no doubt that the execution of this sentence will be resisted and defeated by the Government of Georgia. A case of collision between the judicial authority of the Union and the authority of the State is now brought to an issue. The immediate power is in the hand of the State. The Executive of the Union is leagued with the State authority, and the two Houses of Congress are about as equally as possible divided in the case. It is clear that the Constitution and law of the Union and its judicial authority will be prostrated before the despotic power of the State; and I would it were possible for me to anticipate the course to be taken, and the measure proper to be proposed, when the information shall come back! Convinced that I can effect nothing, my own course will be to withhold myself from all action concerning it.

13th. I went up to the Capitol soon after nine this morning, and finished the draft of a bill for the meeting of the Committee on Manufactures, for the purpose of repressing frauds on the revenue. I found John S. Barbour already at the Capitol, walking about in the passage-ways. He came to the committee-room for about five minutes, before the hour of meeting of the committee, but did not attend the meeting. There were present at that, Condict, Dayan, Horn, and Worthington, to whom I read my draft of a bill made according to the recommendation of the Secretary of the Treasury, and taken chiefly from a bill reported by the Committee of Manufactures at the session before last. Diversities of opinion soon arose. Horn, very good-humoredly, opposed everything. Worthington manifested a similar disposition, with more reserve. Dayan objected to the provisions of the drafted bill, but proposed measures less energetic. Dr. Condict was earnest upon the object. We sat till noon, and adjourned till to-morrow morning, as I propose now to have daily meetings till we have determined whether to report a bill or not.

In the House, Mr. Clayton's bank investigation resolution was taken up. Collier, of New York, made a speech of an hour and a half, in which he fully exposed the system of combined banks and safety fund of that State. The political caballing; the reservation of three per cent. from the capitals of all the banks; the party combinations intertwining with them; the patronage of, by, and through three bank commissioners, with salaries each of fifteen hundred dollars a year; the holy league and covenant of banks loaning money at seven per cent. against a bank which discounts at six per cent.; with the bearing of all this upon the resolutions of the Legislature of New York instructing their Senators and requesting their Representatives to oppose the rechartering of the Bank of the United States; the jugglery of party discipline; the political frauds and hypocrisy of the party calling itself *the* Republican party; their subserviency to the regency of the Albany Argus, and their motive of recommending themselves to favor by their joint and violent attack upon Root; were all displayed in a manner at once cautious, playful, and bitter.

After he had closed, McDuffie rose merely to urge that the question might be taken to-day. I gave notice that I should, before the final question upon Mr. Clayton's resolution should be taken, offer an amendment to it, which I sent to the Chair. There was then a call of the House, and, after one call of absent members, a suspension of it. Two hundred and two members answered as present. The vote upon Root's motion, to choose the committee by ballot, was one hundred to one hundred, and the Speaker decided against the ballot—that is, to appoint the committee himself. Plumer voted for the ballot, but, before the decision was announced, changed his vote. Jenifer was unaccountably lounging about the House, and did not get within the bar till after his name was called. He asked, but was not allowed, to vote. Burges was absent, sick. Kerr, Randolph of New Jersey, Mitchell of Maryland, Ingersoll, absent. In this case, as in the choice of the Speaker, and the Apportionment bill, by carelessness and accident, always operating against right, the decision was against the declared sense of the majority of the House. Wayne's amendment was then taken up.

and he spoke for two hours, till he was so hoarse that he could not articulate, and the House adjourned, leaving his speech unfinished. Walking home with Drayton and Cambreleng, I noticed this, and Drayton said Wayne had never learned when or how to finish a speech. The Apportionment bill yesterday passed the Senate without amendment—twenty-four to twenty-three.

14th. At the Committee on Manufactures at ten. Condict, Dayan, Worthington, Horn, present; Findlay and John S. Barbour absent. My draft of a bill was discussed without drawing near to any conclusion. Mr. Horn read a letter to him from a manufacturer expressing a strong aversion to repealing the minimum system of imposts. The majority of the committee are equally averse to it; and I told them I would report just such a bill as they should direct. But I assured them that I became from day to day more firmly convinced that this system of minimums must ultimately be abandoned, or that there would be an insurrection in the South. The main argument for sustaining the minimums in the letter to Horn was, that Congress would not directly levy so high duties as are levied by this winding process. We are to meet again to-morrow, and I told the members of the committee that I should wish to meet every morning until we shall have come to some determination upon my draft of a bill.

In the House, Wayne's proposed amendment to Clayton's resolution was taken up. He spoke for about two hours; and the instant he sat down, Hubbard, of New Hampshire, rose, moved the previous question, and a call of the House. The direct object of this was to cut off all discussion upon my proposed amendment. The call of the House was first made; and when the first call of names was gone through, Hubbard moved to suspend the call, and renewed the motion for the previous question. To this I objected that the House could not entertain *two* motions from a member at once.

The Speaker, who evidently favored Hubbard, told me the previous question did not admit of debate, unless I spoke to a point of order—which I said I did; and it was to enquire whether

the gentleman from New Hampshire could have two questions under the consideration of the House at once.

The Speaker said the question was whether the call of the House should be suspended.

Everett suggested to me while I was speaking that I might speak against that. I said I did object to the suspension of the call, because I wished every member in the city, whose attendance could be procured, should be present. I deemed my amendment extremely important, and was very anxious to have a full vote upon it. I believed the original resolution proposed a committee with powers which the House itself did not possess and was not competent to give.

The Speaker said again I could not debate the previous question; but I did not permit myself to be disconcerted by these interruptions. I said I had yesterday given notice that I should move this amendment, expressly declaring that it was to anticipate that the previous question would otherwise be moved before I could offer it. I had abstained from assigning my reason for offering it, but my object had been to show, as I thought I could, that the original resolution would transcend the legitimate powers of the House. I had no desire that any humiliating process should be pursued towards the absent members, but merely that they might be sent for and their attendance requested.

The doors were for some time closed, and then the call was by consent suspended. Mr. Hubbard's motion for the previous question was not sustained by a majority of the House. The question was taken by yeas and nays on Mr. Wayne's amendment, and lost—twenty-six to one hundred and sixty-four. My amendment was taken up. Beardsley, Hogan, and Howard successively offered amendments for delay, and supported them by speeches. Cambreleng, McDuffie, Polk, and Arnold took part in the debate. I had proposed to limit the time for receiving the report to the 14th of April. McDuffie asked me to extend it one week further, to the 21st; to which I assented. The other amendments were all rejected by successive yeas and nays. Twice the yeas and nays were taken upon motions to adjourn, which were rejected, and at last the yeas

and nays were taken upon my amendment, which was carried —one hundred and six to ninety-three. On the resolution as amended the question was taken, and carried without a division. Everett renewed the motion for the appointment of the committee by ballot—nine instead of seven—but afterwards withdrew the motion. I moved five, because the Speaker had told me that seven, having been once rejected, would be out of order. But five were thought too few. I moved seven again; and the Speaker said that would be the number if not objected to.

15th. In the House, on the reading over of the journal of yesterday, the bank investigation committee were announced —Clayton, Adams, McDuffie, R. M. Johnson, Cambreleng, Thomas of Maryland, and Watmough. The Chairman and a majority of the committee are taken from the minority of the House upon the resolution as it passed. But Watmough seemed to be satisfied with the committee. He told me it was not so bad as he had expected. The committee were notified by the Chairman to meet at ten to-morrow morning in the room of the Committee of Claims.

There came up in the House a resolution, offered some time since by General Root, for an amendment of the Constitution by changing the mode of electing the President of the United States. This was a favorable electioneering topic five years ago, but no one cares a straw about it now. Root made a short speech, but no one answered him, and he got rid of his resolution by moving its reference to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union.

The Appropriation bill came next, and a very warm debate arose upon a motion of Warren R. Davis, of South Carolina, to strike out the item for salary of a Minister to the republic of Colombia. The committee had obtained evidence that the republic of New Grenada had six seaports on the Atlantic and three on the Pacific Ocean, by a letter from General Santander, now at New York. Bullard, of Louisiana, congratulated the Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations upon the discoveries in physical geography that he had made since this subject was last before the House. This sarcasm quite overset Archer's philosophy and put him in a passion. This item was

passed over for further consideration. The additional item of thirty-five thousand dollars for contingencies to the Turkish Legation was also passed over, and the bill was reported by the committee to the House.

Before the adjournment, I asked to be excused from further service upon the Committee on Manufactures; but it was late, and, at the request of Colonel Richard M. Johnson and of other members, I waived the motion for the present, giving notice of my intention to renew it to-morrow morning.

16th. Met at ten o'clock, the Bank Investigation Committee —Clayton, McDuffie, R. M. Johnson, Cambreleng, Thomas, of Maryland, Watmough, and myself—first in the room of the Committee of Claims of the House, from which we passed into the committee-room of the Committee of Commerce. Some arrangements were made for going to Philadelphia together. There was some question with regard to expenses and allowances by the House to the committee. It was agreed to consult the precedents of the committee which in the year 1819 was sent to Philadelphia on a similar commission, particularly the accounts of their expenses. I observed from recollection that the committee on that occasion agreed among themselves to accept no invitations to dinner or to evening parties. I proposed the same agreement now; and it was so unanimously determined. We agreed to meet again at ten to-morrow morning.

At the meeting of the Committee on Manufactures, Dr. Condict, Dayan, and Worthington were present; Findlay, Horn, and J. S. Barbour were absent. My draft of a bill for preventing frauds on the revenue was further discussed, without coming to any conclusion. Agreed to meet again Monday morning.

In the House, I renewed my request to be excused from further service on the Committee on Manufactures, for reasons which I briefly stated. Much to my surprise, it excited considerable debate; to abridge which, and particularly at the request of Mr. Wayne, of Georgia, I withdrew the motion for the present, reserving to myself the right of renewing it before the departure of the Bank Committee for Philadelphia.

The General Appropriation bill was taken up, and many of the items discussed in committee of the whole were again debated. I took part only in that upon the item of thirty-five thousand dollars for contingencies of the Legation to the Porte. Archer, Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations, now explained the purpose of the appropriation, which was for presents upon the negotiation and exchange of ratifications of the treaty. Archer gave a succinct account of the negotiations, and did full justice to the preceding Administration with regard to these transactions. The appropriation was partially opposed from various quarters, and especially by E. Whittlesey, of Ohio, who objected to it as a payment of tribute. I supported the whole appropriation, and it was carried almost unanimously, though Archer at one time had consented, at the instance of McDuffie, to reduce it to twenty-six thousand dollars. The calls from all parts of the House for the whole appropriation were such that McDuffie finally gave up his objection to any part of it.

This was the second instance of effect produced by my share in a debate favorable to the opinion I sustained. The first was in the passage of my amendment to the bank investigation resolution. It increases beyond expression my anxieties; as do the reasons assigned by several members for objecting to excuse me from the Committee on Manufactures. It was near six in the evening when the House adjourned.

Mr. Stansbury, the reporter, brought me just at the adjournment the notes taken by the Englishman, Codd, of my reasons assigned for asking to be excused from the Committee on Manufactures. Gales and Seaton wished to have the revised notes by nine this evening, to publish with the debate in the Intelligencer to-morrow morning; but the notes were so incorrect that I found it would be necessary to write them all over again. I could not correct them, and when they sent for them in the evening I returned them by the boy, sending word that they were too incorrect for publication.

17th. I attended this morning at the Bank Investigation Committee. All the members present. Mr. Cambreleng said he would not be ready to go before next Wednesday. It was then determined to go that day. Judge Clayton takes his wife and

child with him, and goes separately. Mr. Thomas goes to Frederick to-morrow, and will meet us at Baltimore, Wednesday evening. McDuffie, Johnson, Cambreleng, Watmough, and myself are to go together in an extra stage, which I engaged to procure, and which is to come and take us up at the door of the House at one o'clock next Wednesday.

I called and saw Mr. Webster at his lodgings, and enquired of him the state of the Apportionment bill. He said his amendment had failed by a vote of twenty-four to twenty-three, Mr. Clay being absent, and probably to avoid voting against the amendment, as, if present, he would have done. He said Frelinghuysen and Tomlinson had also voted against us, and now Chambers and Naudain were called away by sickness in their families.

19th. Attended at ten the Committee on Manufactures. Condict, Horn, Dayan, Worthington, present. Barbour there a few minutes, but went away to attend a meeting of the Virginia delegation. I read my draft of a bill for the prevention of frauds on the revenue. Mr. Horn is the most intractable member of the committee. It is impossible to bring him to agree to anything. Mr. Dayan has been very inflexible too, but he was this day a little more yielding. We are to meet again to-morrow.

I went to the Senate-chamber, at the door of which I met Mr. Webster, with whom I went into the committee-room, and we talked over the Apportionment bill and the tariff. The former, he said, would have no chance of amendment if called up before the return of Mr. Chambers, of Maryland, and Dr. Naudain, of Delaware. I desired him, if he could, to keep it till my return—which he said he would. Of the tariff he spoke with much uncertainty. I pressed him upon the abandonment of the minimums and the return to ad valorem duties.

He could not come to it, for he is too closely tied to Clay. He asked me if I would repeal the duty on wool. I said, yes, upon coarse wool, as part of the disposition to ad valorem duties. He said, no, he could not do that; it had prodigiously increased the breed of sheep, and the repeal of it would be very unpopular in New England. I said a bounty upon raising sheep

might benefit agriculture, but to tax the indispensable raw material one hundred per cent.[1]

Mr. Webster seemed apprehensive that the final compromise of interests would be made at the expense of New England.

Judge Baldwin called upon me, and finally Thomas R. Mitchell, of South Carolina. Baldwin said Judge Wilkins was about to propose in the Senate, as an amendment to Mr. Clay's resolution, his (Baldwin's) plan for the modification of the tariff—ad valorem duties, cash payments, and a duty on sales at auction. The Judge was very anxious that I should see and converse with Mr. Wilkins upon his plan. He said he should see Wilkins again in the morning, and would ask him to call upon me in the House. Mitchell came to urge me not to persist in my request to be excused from serving further in the Committee on Manufactures. He thought I could render much service by conciliating the parties. I told him I could accomplish nothing—having not the slightest weight with either of the parties. He said that he and his friends were exceedingly unwilling to vote upon the question, but that, if I did insist, he should call for the yeas and nays. It is clear that if I renew the request it will have the appearance of seeking more compliments, and with this notice that the yeas and nays would be called, I should be suspected of forcing them as a trophy to my own importance. They do not wish to vote at all upon it, and if I compel them to vote they will attribute it to my own self-sufficiency. My situation is distressing deeply, without prospect of coming out of it creditably; but I cannot withdraw from it, and must abide by the issue, such as a higher power may dispense.

20th. Met the Committee on Manufactures at ten. Condict, J. S. Barbour, Dayan, Horn, Worthington, present; Findlay absent. I thought it necessary to bring something to a point, and had drafted a bill for the prevention of frauds on the revenue. After much discussion, the members of the committee agreed it should be reported, except Mr. Horn, who said he should oppose it with all his power. It is a bill predicated upon the principle that the present tariff system is to be

[1] This sentence left imperfect.

maintained, which I believe not only impolitic but impracticable. I proposed to report this bill because it was urged strongly by the manufacturers, and because I wish to see how it will meet the public opinion. There is such a total diversity of opinions upon every question concerning the tariff, that, had it not been for this emergency, I doubt whether I should have brought them to report my bill at all upon the frauds.

I met for a moment the Bank Investigation Committee, and we five agreed to go from the House itself at one to-morrow.

21st. I attended the Committee on Manufactures at ten. Condict, Horn, Dayan, J. S. Barbour, and Worthington were present; Findlay absent. I read my two fragments of a draft for a report upon the modification of the tariff—parts of which were satisfactory to one member and displeasing to another, other parts were the reverse. It was to no one entirely satisfactory.

On the meeting of the House, when the reports from standing committees were called for by the Speaker, I reported from the Committee on Manufactures a bill for the prevention of frauds on the revenue; which, at my motion, was read a first and second time by its title. I then moved that it should be printed and referred to the committee of the whole House on the state of the Union. Root moved that the bill should be read; and three or four sections were read, upon which Root moved to suspend the reading of the remainder. I took the occasion of reporting this bill to say that I should not renew the request to be excused from further service on the Committee on Manufactures, for which I assigned my reasons, and apologized to the House for having given them any trouble on the subject.

PHILADELPHIA, 22d.—We came to the United States Hotel, directly opposite to the bank, and in half an hour were in committee. Judge Clayton's wife and child were with him. Mr. Cambreleng and Colonel Watmough were appointed a subcommittee to engage a clerk. It was resolved that Judge Clayton, the Chairman, should write to the President of the bank, Mr. Biddle, and notify to him our commission and our arrival, and proposing to call on him at the bank to-morrow morning at ten. We discussed the question about the charge

against the bank of subsidizing the press. I persisted in my objection against the pretension to try or censure individuals whom we had no right to summon for examination into their transactions nor to condemn unheard. The question was postponed. We found invitations to a ball this evening, at Mrs. John Sergeant's; but we confirmed our previous determination to accept no invitations to dinner or evening parties. An exception was made for Colonel Watmough this evening, he being here at home, and Mrs. Sergeant's brother. He undertook to offer excuses for the rest of us.

23d. The committee met immediately after breakfast. The answer from the President of the bank was read, announcing his readiness to receive the committee at ten this morning. The committee proceeded to the bank, and met there the President, Mr. Biddle, and three Directors—Horace Binney, Thomas Cadwalader, and Manuel Eyre. Mr. Biddle presented a verbal, short, and comprehensive exposition of the affairs and condition of the bank, with reference to a number of documents, which he exhibited. The committee then retired to their room, and adjourned to meet at two o'clock at the bank again. William B. Reed was appointed clerk to the committee. At the meeting at two o'clock, Mr. Clayton presented a portion of his charges against the bank, with some new ones, and Mr. McDuffie presented those originally advanced by Mr. Clayton, but which he had now omitted. Mr. Biddle was requested to furnish a copy of the verbal statement which he had made in the morning.

Here occurs a blank in the record, spreading over nearly eight months. The minutes remaining, from which it was the purpose of the writer to fill it up, are not deemed sufficiently perfect for publication. The diary is resumed at the beginning of the twelfth volume.

WASHINGTON, *December* 1st.—Walking round the Capitol Hill this morning, I met and spoke to Andrew Stevenson, Speaker of the House of Representatives; also C. A. Wickliffe, a member of the House from Kentucky, and several other members of Congress. Mr. Featherstonhaugh paid me a morning visit.

He had a small book in his hand, which he said was the Journal of a Nullifier, a political satire, published at Charleston, South Carolina, and the scene of which is appropriately laid in hell. Mr. Francis Olmsted came in while he was here. Olmsted comes as a delegate from the merchants of New York to remonstrate with the Secretary of the Treasury against certain constructions which he has given to the eighteenth section of the Tariff Act passed at the last session of Congress. He discussed the matter much with me, on the supposition that there might be a memorial to Congress concerning it.

4th. In the House of Representatives, the President's message was received and read. It recommends a total change in the policy of the Union with reference to the bank, manufactures, internal improvement, and the public lands. It goes to dissolve the Union into its original elements, and is in substance a complete surrender to the nullifiers of South Carolina. On motion of Speight, of North Carolina, the message was referred to the committee of the whole House on the state of the Union, and ten thousand copies to be printed for the use of the members of the House.

5th. The message of the President gives great dissatisfaction to all those with whom I converse, and will be received with rapture by his partisans. He has cast away all the neutrality which he had heretofore maintained upon the conflicting interests and opinions of the different sections of the country, and surrenders the whole Union to the nullifiers of the South and the land-robbers of the West. I confess this is neither more nor less than I expected, and no more than I predicted nearly two years since, in a letter, I think, to Peter B. Porter. This message already puts my temper and my discretion upon a trial equally severe. Dissimulation I cannot practice. Passion can do nothing but mischief. I walk between burning ploughshares, and have no support upon earth, with a fearful foreboding that every effort I could make for the good of my country would recoil in evil upon myself and my family.

6th. At the House of Representatives, the President's message was received, with his reasons for declining to sign the Internal Improvement bill, which passed the two Houses of

Congress at the close of the last session. It was referred to the Committee on Roads and Canals, and afterwards Clay, of Alabama, moved a reconsideration of that vote.

10th. In the House, the standing committees were announced. The Speaker has again appointed me Chairman of the Committee of Manufactures, but instead of Mr. Dayan, of New York, has substituted Hoffman as a member—a change very inauspicious to the interest of manufactures. Speight, of North Carolina, moved the parcelling out of the President's message to the committees—the subject of the bank concerns to a select committee.

The committee of the whole on the state of the Union reported the other resolutions to the House. That concerning the bank was postponed, the motions of amendment to be printed. Mr. Tomlinson sent for me to my seat, and introduced to me Mr. Nichols, the preacher at St. John's Church yesterday, and assistant to the Bishop of Virginia, at Richmond. The House adjourned at three P.M., and walking home with J. W. Taylor we met Major Hamilton, who gave him, and he to me, the President's proclamation to and against the South Carolina nullifiers.

13th. Reached the House this morning before the session opened. Petitions and resolutions were called; after which, in committee of the whole House on the state of the Union, the resolutions for distributing the President's message were adopted with modifications, reported to the House, and there adopted. The parts of the message relating to the bank were finally referred to the Committee of Ways and Means, without the authority to send for persons and papers or to investigate the affairs of the bank. But the recommendation in the message to sell all the stocks of the United States in incorporated companies, which in committee of the whole had been referred to the Committee of Roads and Canals, was in the House taken from them and transferred to the Committee of Ways and Means by yeas and nays—ninety-one to seventy-seven—most of the Western members heretofore devoted to internal improvement voting for the change. The bribe of the public lands has bought them off.

There was a very warm personal discussion between Wickliffe and Cambreleng upon a very trifling question, about printing extra copies of papers relating to the bank.

I had a friendly and jocular conversation with McDuffie, who told me they had nullified in South Carolina our Tariff Act of last summer. I said we must leave the ordinance and the proclamation to fight it out. He said Hamilton would issue a counter-proclamation.

I walked from the Capitol with J. W. Taylor. He says the Anti-Masons in New York will not give up their cause, but will very soon have a large meeting at Albany. He gave me to read the letter from Judge McLean, which is an angling for a Presidential nomination.

14th. The resolutions parcelling out the President's message were finally adopted by the House. The motion for taking the yeas and nays upon the question pending at the adjournment yesterday was withdrawn. A very sharp debate arose upon a motion of Polk's to amend the resolution for a select committee upon the part of the message recommending an amendment to the Constitution in the election of President and Vice-President of the United States. The amendment was to add a submission to the same committee of the parts of the message concerning the exercise by Congress of doubtful powers. Daniel opposed the amendment offered by Polk, and made some severe remarks upon the President's recent proclamation, which brought up Stewart, who lost his temper. He commended the proclamation in the warmest terms. Foster, of Georgia, added fuel to the flame. Daniel replied, but was called to order; the Speaker deciding that the proclamation, not being before the House, could not be referred to in orderly debate. Daniel insisted for some time, but finally was obliged to give it up.

McDuffie could not contain himself, but said, if Congress should approve the principles of that proclamation the liberties of the country were gone forever. Archer rose, and said that a communication would very shortly be received upon which the gentleman would have an opportunity to express his opinions without restraint.

This, I conclude, will be a message filled with doctrines the reverse of those of the proclamation.

15th. Met the Committee of Manufactures shortly after eleven. Present, Hoffman, Findlay, Barbour, Horn, and Worthington; Dr. Condict was absent. Mr. Hoffman moved that the committee should be furnished with a docket by the Clerk of the House, and that the Chairman and Mr. Horn should be a subcommittee to procure the returns of manufactures, and reports of the Agents employed by the Secretary of the Treasury to make them, at the last session of Congress.

Mr. Barbour moved that the committee should meet at ten o'clock on Monday morning, to prepare a reduction of six millions a year of the revenue.

I said I considered the question of the reduction of the revenue as not referred to this committee; but all the members present, except Mr. Worthington, who hesitated, insisted that it was; and the vote accordingly passed.

John S. Barbour gave me a Richmond Whig, containing the message of Governor Floyd, of Virginia, to the Legislature of that State, with the ordinance of South Carolina, and an inflammatory commentary, calling for a general Convention of the State, and a still more inflammatory editorial article in the Whig.

17th. Attended the Committee of Manufactures. Dr. Condict and Mr. Worthington were absent. Mr. Hoffman had two resolutions of enquiry to be made of the Secretary of the Treasury for information, to which I saw no objection, and which were agreed to; but I offered myself a resolution, that a journal should be kept of the proceedings of the committee, in which should be entered every motion of any member of the committee, made by him in writing, and upon which the sense of the committee shall be taken, when desired by any member, by yeas and nays.

Upon this proposition there was much discussion. Hoffman opposed it, and it will, of course, be rejected. He requested, however, that the question should be postponed for a full meeting of the committee; to which I assented. I told the committee I should also then offer resolutions that the reduction of the revenue has not been referred by the House to the Committee

of Manufactures, and that it has been referred to the Committee of Ways and Means; and if these should be rejected, I should move further resolutions of enquiry of the Secretary of the Treasury what will, in his opinion, be the effect upon the revenue of the ensuing year of the state of our relations with South Carolina and with Buenos Ayres. Upon this also Hoffman put his veto; but it was referred to a full meeting of the committee.

19th. Committee of Manufactures at ten. All the members present. My proposed resolutions were all discussed, and all laid on the table, on motions of Mr. Hoffman. My first proposition was, that a journal should be kept of the proceedings of the committee, and the motions made in writing, if desired, taken and recorded by yeas and nays.

This being laid on the table, my course must be to keep minutes of the proceedings and of the votes myself. The resolutions that the reduction of the revenue had been committed by the House to the Committee of Ways and Means, and not to the Committee of Manufactures, were also laid on the table. They do not choose to meet the question directly, but to assume the power, whether entrusted or not. My resolution to enquire of the Secretary of the Treasury what will be the probable effect on the revenue of a suspension of the collection in the ports of South Carolina, and of forcible resistance to the execution of the laws in that State, was not decided, though much discussed.

20th. After the bills at the third reading were disposed of, I asked leave to offer a resolution calling upon the President for copies of his proclamation of the 10th instant, and of the ordinance of the South Carolina Convention to which it refers. Archer immediately rose, and said it would lie on the table. The Speaker caught at this as a motion that it should lie on the table, and was putting the question to the House, the effect of which, if carried, would have been that the resolution could not come up again without a special order. I rose and said I presumed the resolution would, of course, lie one day upon the table. It will now come up, of course; though probably the House will refuse to consider it.

Walking homewards with Letcher, he intimated that he

thought the call for the proclamation premature, as tending to produce excitement. McDuffie came to my seat and told me that he should move an amendment to my call by adding the other South Carolina papers to the ordinance—to which I told him I should have no objection.

21st. On taking my seat in the House this morning, General Dearborn came to me and said that a number of our friends wished me not to call up my resolution calling for copies of the proclamation and ordinance of South Carolina. I told him that, although it would be excessively against my own opinion, I would comply with their wish. Soon after, Pearce, of Rhode Island, came and gave me the same intimation. I gave him a reason for the call which I thought a sufficient one, but I told him I would not press the call. T. B. Mitchell, a South Carolina Unionist, came and entreated me not to press my resolution; and I told him I would not. I asked Archer, of Virginia, who is Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations, and affects to be the confidential intimate of the Executive, whether he had any objection to the call for the correspondence with Buenos Ayres. He said, no; but he had to my call for the proclamation. I told him I would not press the call, and would consent to its lying on the table. He then promised it should be very soon forthcoming.

After the call for petitions, and for reports of standing and select committees, were gone through, the Speaker said, "The following resolution is offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts." Up started at once Letcher, Wickliffe, and Warren R. Davis: "Mr. Speaker—Mr. Speaker—Mr. Speaker:" they all thought it was the resolution calling for the proclamation. Letcher, a good-humored, shrewd, jocose Menenius Agrippa to Clay, was going to move either the question of consideration or to lay the resolution on the table. Wickliffe insisted that there was a resolution of his which should have been called up before mine. Davis held out an amendment that he had prepared to propose, which he had mentioned to me before, and to which I had assured him I should make no objection. It was to include additional papers in the call. There was some bustle and confusion, till it was ascertained that the resolution

taken up and announced by the Speaker was the call not for the resolution, but for the correspondence with Buenos Ayres. I assigned, in a few reasons for the call, my motives for it, amending the resolution by adding the instructions to the Chargé d'Affaires. The resolution was adopted without opposition.

Wickliffe's resolution was then taken up, having precedence of mine for the proclamation. His was for a call on the President for a list of members of Congress appointed to office since 1826. This resolution was opposed by Foster, of Georgia, in a speech, to which Wickliffe replied. Clayton, of Georgia, was about opening, when the hour of resolutions expired, and soon after the House was half emptied by a cry of fire in the Pennsylvania Avenue, opposite to Brown's Hotel. The House immediately adjourned.

22d. At the House, I had a conversation with General Dearborn concerning the application which he made to me yesterday, in the name of some of our friends, to withdraw my resolution calling for the President's proclamation. I asked him who they were. He named Ellsworth, Choate, and Letcher. I asked him whether they supposed I had offered the resolution without having reasons for it, and whether they proposed to assume the right of controlling my course. He said, no; that in speaking to me he had acted entirely on his own responsibility, but that if I did not withdraw my resolution it would be voted down by a very large majority of the House.

I told him I should take my chance for that, but I should not withdraw my resolution. I showed to Dearborn, and afterwards to E. Everett, an article in the Telegraph, taken from the Richmond Whig, calling upon Henry Clay to abandon the Tariff party and save the Union; and I asked them what it meant.

They did not know.

The hour elapsed, and the House proceeded to private business. They agreed to adjourn over till Wednesday. C. C. Clay, just before the adjournment, moved a reconsideration of that vote, because the Committee of Ways and Means would be ready to report on Monday an Anti-Tariff bill; but the House adjourned. So that my call for the proclamation cannot come up before Wednesday, nor probably before Thursday.

24th. The Committee of Manufactures having adjourned to ten o'clock this morning, I attended at their chamber in the Capitol. Mr. Hoffman was there, and told me that Dr. Condict had been with him, and they had agreed to adjourn the meeting till Friday morning—Horn and Worthington being absent—that is, having gone home to enjoy Christmas holidays. General Findlay came soon after into the committee-room, and with him and Hoffman I had a general conversation of upwards of two hours. Mr. Hoffman is a New Yorker, of Dutch descent, a lawyer, of the Democratic Republican party of the Albany Regency, and now a Van Buren man. They are *now* tenacious of State rights, and politically leagued with the anti-tariff policy of the South. But as Jackson men they must be anti-nullifiers; and to these two incoherent elements, subserviency to the slave-holding policy and the personal animosities of President Jackson against Vice-President Calhoun, may be traced the glaring inconsistencies of principle between the message of this year and the proclamation.

I told Hoffman that the real question now convulsing this Union was, whether a population spread over an immense territory, consisting of one great division all freemen, and another of masters and slaves, could exist permanently together as members of one community or not; that, to go a step further back, the question at issue was slavery.

He said he was of that opinion, and that if it should come directly to a point, nine-tenths, if not ninety-nine-hundredths, of his constituents would take side against slavery. He said, too, that if this question with South Carolina should come to a struggle of force, and the nullifiers should be overpowered, the whole population of the State would emigrate to Mexico; but Findlay asked what they would do with their slaves—slavery being abolished in Mexico, and all the South American States, except Brazil.

I met a man in the street who accosted me and said there had been a battle; that General James Blair, a member of the House of Representatives, had knocked down and very severely beaten Duff Green, editor of the Telegraph and printer to Congress.

What changes in the affairs and passions of men! Duff Green and his Telegraph were set up here against my Administration, and for its overthrow, by Calhoun, Hayne, Hamilton, Eaton of Tennessee, Drayton, and the united gang of Calhoun and Jackson conspirators against me. They sent a man by the name of Berryman to Charleston to obtain subscriptions for the Telegraph; and I have among my papers Drayton's recommendation of him to some of the men of his party. They made Green printer to the Senate, and he became the prince of slanderers against me. When Jackson came in, they rewarded Green by making him the printer to the Houses of Congress, which he still is. But he attached himself to the fortunes of Calhoun. Men baser than himself have supplanted him in the favor of Jackson. He has plunged into the maelstrom of nullification, and it is dashing him and his instigators to destruction. His Telegraph has lately had some violent publications against the Union men in South Carolina, of whom Blair is one. To make them odious, it designates them as *Tories*—a name of special abhorrence there, from remembrances of the Revolution. This was the immediate provocation to Blair, who is of the race of the giants—a man of fifteen score, and who has nearly killed Green.

25th. The conversation with the members of Congress was chiefly upon the effect of the President's proclamation upon the Legislature of South Carolina, the news of which has just come. It was a blister-plaster. I had a particular and confidential conversation with Mr. Silsbee upon the interference of the National Republicans with my resolution to call for the proclamation and ordinance. I told him I thought it rather peremptory, and not altogether reasonable. I had no disposition to cross their path, and when they saw fit to cross mine I thought they should give me a reason for it. I thought I saw the reason why Mr. Letcher was averse to the call; but I did not so clearly see why General Dearborn and the other members from our own State should have the same objection. I believed Mr. Clay would not commit himself to the principles of the proclamation quite so thoroughly as Mr. Webster had done at Boston.

He said he had been told that Mr. Clay could not swallow the whole proclamation. He added that all he had heard respecting my call for the proclamation was an expression of sorrow that I had made it, and particularly at this time. He said Dearborn had no unfriendly disposition to me—of which I assured him I was perfectly convinced. He avowed it as his opinion that the proclamation ought to have been communicated to Congress immediately after it was issued. Silsbee said he would speak of the matter to General Dearborn, and I desired him to say that it would be well for them to understand one another in time to act with concert; that I was willing and desirous of co-operating with them in their measures, if they would let me know what they are.

This movement of Letcher's, concerted with Ellsworth, Choate, Dearborn, and others, shows me the extreme difficulty and danger of the course I am to pursue. It shows me what I have to expect from them.

26th. I received this morning from A. Fitch a copy of Governor Robert Y. Hayne of South Carolina's counter-proclamation to that of the President of the United States. It is dated the 20th, and is full of very bitter words. I sent it to Polk, of Tennessee. I asked Archer if he should still object to my resolution calling for a copy of the President's proclamation and the ordinance of South Carolina.

He said he had been waiting only for the Tariff bill of the Committee of Ways and Means, which would be reported tomorrow. He would then tell me.

I told him I thought the proclamation of the President ought to have been immediately communicated to Congress.

He said it ought never to have issued. He disapproved the proclamation; in which, he supposed, his opinion differed from mine.

I said that was probable.

27th. At the House, after the petitions had been called up, my resolution to call upon the President for copies of his proclamation and of the ordinance of the South Carolina Convention came up in turn. C. C. Clay, of Alabama, moved the question of consideration, and asked for the yeas and nays. I

enquired of the Speaker whether upon this motion I was precluded from the privilege of assigning to the House the reasons which had induced me to offer the resolution.

He said I was; that it admitted of no debate.

I said no more, and the House, by a vote of one hundred and six to sixty-four, refused to consider my resolution. Edward Everett, John Reed, Letcher and Marshall, of Kentucky, Collier, of the Anti-Masons, all the Jackson party, and the Unionists of South Carolina, voted against the consideration. Most of the National Republicans and the nullifiers voted for it. Archer had promised me upon his word of honor that a message should come by Monday next at the latest. I told him I had no design, when the papers should come, to make any motion for the disposal of them, though I saw it was suspected I had. I supposed he or some other member of the Administration party would move the reference of them to a select committee for a report. I had not the least desire to be upon that committee.

He said he had a perfect confidence in my integrity and patriotism, and would be very much gratified that I should be the Chairman of that committee if my opinions upon the proclamation should concur with theirs.

To this broad overture I gave no encouragement. I said it was probable my opinions upon the proclamation would not concur with his, but that I had no wish to be on the committee.

Whittlesey, of Ohio, spoke to me, and said he was afraid the vote of the House would encourage the President not to send the proclamation at all.

McDuffie came to me from Duff Green to offer an abstract from the documents relating to the manufactures, which have not yet been printed, and which he cannot now print.

I told Mr. McDuffie that Hoffman, and not I, was the mover in this case, and I presumed he would comprehend his motive. The Committee of Ways and Means reported this morning their Tariff bill, which was read. Mr. Verplanck, the Chairman, gave notice that he should call it up for consideration in committee of the whole on the state of the Union next Wed-

nesday. The report accompanying the bill is to be presented to-morrow.

28th. At ten o'clock I attended the Committee of Manufactures. Hoffman, Findlay, Dr. Condict, and Barbour were present; Horn and Worthington absent.

Hoffman brought up again the printing of the manufacturing documents, which he wants to compel Green to give to the other printing establishments. I endeavored to shame him out of it as an ungenerous thing towards a ruined man. But Hoffman is made of not very penetrable stuff. The information called for from the Secretary of the Treasury by one of his resolutions, and by that of J. S. Barbour, has been received, and was before the committee. We had a very desultory conversation, without approaching to any preparation for a report. Hoffman finally moved that the committee should adjourn to eleven o'clock Monday morning. From the great slackening of zeal since the committee first met, I conclude they have given up entirely the idea of reporting a bill, and mean to rely upon that reported by the Committee of Ways and Means. It occurs to me then, as a part of my duty, to prepare a report for the minority of the committee, perhaps for myself only; but to sustain the manufacturing interest the duty devolved by the House upon the committee; but which the majority of the committee will certainly not discharge.

29th. The bill for reducing and otherwise altering the duties on imports, reported by the Committee of Ways and Means, is extremely offensive to the National Republicans, but they have not agreed upon any mode of meeting it. General Dearborn spoke of proposing a resolution to repeal all impost duties and levying a direct tax. John S. Barbour said he would agree to this; and perhaps he believes he would, but I do not. It is a desperate remedy, to which it would be of no use to resort. A motion was made by Jarvis, of Maine, to adjourn over till Wednesday, the 2d of January; to which Whittlesey, of Ohio, objected. Jarvis moved a suspension of the rule; Whittlesey called for the yeas and nays upon the suspension, but could not get enough to join him (one-fifth), and the rule was suspended, by a vote of more than two-thirds. He then asked for the yeas

and nays on the question of adjournment over; which was carried. I voted against the adjournment, but, when it was carried, notified the members of the Committee of Manufactures to meet on Wednesday instead of Monday. Hoffman asked me to change my vote against the adjournment; but I told him I was afraid they would do more mischief out of the House than they could do in it.

31st. I paid a morning visit to Dr. Condict, and had conversation with him upon the course to be pursued by us as members of the Committee of Manufactures. The recommendations of the President's message look to the annihilation of our manufactures and to the depression of all free domestic industry. I told the Doctor I thought it would be my duty, as Chairman of the committee, to prepare a report examining the doctrines of the message in their full extent, and demonstrating their pernicious nature, especially with reference to the protection necessary for the domestic manufactures. It was very certain that five members of the committee would dissent from this report. They would not permit that it should be made to the House at all, and would doubtless prepare a report of a different and opposite character. Probably the House itself would refuse to receive such a report as I should prepare; but I could not endure the idea of suffering the ruinous principles and recommendations of the message to pass as if they were uncontroverted.

The Doctor agreed with me, and I promised to prepare a report and communicate it to him for his examination and emendations before presenting it to the committee.

January 2d, 1833.—Attended at the meeting of the Committee of Manufactures. Hoffman absent; all the other members present. There appears to be no disposition in the committee now to do anything. I brought up again my proposed resolution to call upon the Secretary of the Treasury for an estimate of the deficiency in the revenue, and of the increased expenditure to be expected in the event of the collection of the imposts being suspended, and of resistance to the execution of the laws in South Carolina. John S. Barbour discussed the point prin-

cipally with me; all the other members were against me except Dr. Condict, who said nothing, but urged me to offer my proposition as a resolution in the House. There was some talk among the members of making a report to the House approving or disapproving the bill reported by the Committee of Ways and Means. Findlay said he thought this committee would have finally to report a bill, for he did not think that reported by the Committee of Ways and Means would pass. This was the first indication I had observed of indecision in the Presidential ranks.

3d. Verplanck offered a resolution to take up the Tariff bill, reported by him as Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, next Monday, at one o'clock, and every day thereafter till further order of the House. This resolution, by the rule, was to lie over one day. Verplanck asked unanimous consent to consider it now; objection was made. He moved to suspend the rule, and for the yeas and nays—they were one hundred and six to seventy-eight—not two-thirds, and the rule was not suspended; but to-morrow the vote will be carried, and the bill will pass by about the same majority. Archer came to me and told me that the communication which he had promised me of the President's proclamation, and the documents from South Carolina, was postponed.

4th. The resolution to take up the Tariff bill next Monday, and every day thereafter till further order, came up. McKennan, of Pennsylvania, moved as an amendment the first Monday in February, instead of Monday next. He said he wished for time to consult the opinion of his constituents. Polk immediately moved the previous question, which cuts off all debate. Ellsworth complained, but there was a second to the previous question—eighty-three to seventy-nine. Crawford moved a call of the House, upon which a short debate was allowed. The call was made, and, when the names were gone through, Wilde moved to suspend the call. The yeas and nays were taken, and the call suspended—one hundred and six and eighty-nine; but the hour for resolutions had passed away, and the previous question could not be taken.

I went into the Senate-chamber, and gave Mr. Webster a

paper which had been forwarded here from New York for Joseph Blunt. Holmes, of Maine, was speaking upon a resolution to call upon the Secretary of the Treasury for a Tariff bill, or for a list of indispensables in war. The yeas and nays were taken several times, and the question not finally decided.

John C. Calhoun took this morning his seat as a Senator from South Carolina, having resigned his office as Vice-President of the United States. W. C. Rives had also taken his seat as a Senator from Virginia. I spoke with Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Clay. When I returned to the House they were just about adjourning. Mr. Everett asked me to attend a meeting of the Massachusetts delegation at his lodgings this evening; which I did. The two Senators, D. Webster and N. Silsbee, and the members of the House, Bates, Briggs, Choate, Dearborn, Everett, Grennell, Hodges, Kendall, Nelson, and Reed, were present; Appleton and Davis absent. The object was a consultation upon the course to be pursued with regard to the Tariff bill reported by the Committee of Ways and Means. The opinion was unanimous that its passage should be opposed, but no hope could be entertained by any one that the passage of it in the House could be prevented. There were some feeble hopes expressed that it might be defeated in the Senate. It was remarked that the protective system would be abandoned by the Kentucky delegation. Everett asked me if I thought Mr. Clay would be again a candidate for the Presidency.

I said, no doubt, if he could with any prospect of success, of which there was at present none.

5th. In the House, a bill reported by the Judiciary Committee for continuing the office of reporter of the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States with a salary of a thousand dollars a year came up at the second reading. Mr. Ellsworth, of the Judiciary Committee, wished it to pass without the delay of going into a committee of the whole. But there is a rule of the House that every motion or proposition touching a tax or charge upon the people shall be first discussed in committee of the whole. The Speaker decided that this bill came within the spirit of the rule. Wickliffe reminded him that at the last session he had decided the opposite way on a case precisely

the same in principle; but he denied it, and there was no record of the decision. I wished to have a record made of this decision, and therefore took an appeal from it; but, after some discussion, finding the sense of the House generally in favor of the decision, and some difference of opinion among the oldest members upon the practice, I withdrew my appeal. It was, however, renewed by Arnold, of Tennessee, to have the decision recorded upon the journals. The decision was affirmed by yeas and nays—one hundred and sixty-two to fourteen. Although I had withdrawn my appeal, I voted against the decision, which, as one of construction upon the rule, was wrong; and which Stevenson would have decided next week the other way if it had come up in the shape of a party question. This debate, however, consumed the hour allotted to resolutions, so that Polk's previous question upon the Tariff bill could not be taken up.

7th. In the House, the resolution to take up the Tariff bill, reported by the Committee of Ways and Means, on, and every day after, Monday next, till further orders, came up. There had been a second to Polk's motion for the previous question last Friday, by which he had cut himself off from making any amendment. Denny moved a call of the House; rejected; Crawford moved to lay the resolution on the table; rejected;—both by yeas and nays. The previous question was then carried. Evans, of Maine, asked the Speaker what would be the effect of the words *next Monday* in the resolution; to which Stevenson answered, in a pet, that it would be for the House to decide—the Speaker could not undertake to say in advance what would be the effect of any resolution offered to the House. The main question was carried, and announced to be one hundred and eighteen to eighty-two—I think by mistake, there not being, I think, two hundred members in the House. It was past one when the resolution was adopted; so that the day and hour referred to in it can apply only to next Monday. No attempt was made to take up the bill this day, but I have no doubt it will be taken up to-morrow.

8th. When the unfinished business of yesterday came up, Verplanck moved the suspension of it to go into committee of

the whole House on the state of the Union. The object was to take up the Tariff bill.

McKennan objected, that by the resolution of yesterday the consideration of the tariff had been postponed till Monday next; but the motion to go into committee of the whole was carried. Wayne in the chair. A fruitless effort was made to take up Root's resolution for an amendment of the Constitution. The Tariff bill prevailed, and was read through; whereupon Mr. Verplanck rose, and in a short and modest speech said he wished to introduce at once into discussion the details of the bill. The principles had been sufficiently discussed at the last session. The bill at that time had reduced the revenue by several millions. It was now desirable to reduce it five or six millions more, which was the object of this bill. When he finished, Mr. Huntington, of Connecticut, moved that the committee should rise; which was accordingly done, and the House adjourned.

9th. Before one, the House went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union. The Tariff bill was taken up, and Mr. Huntington made a speech of two hours against it. He was followed by Mr. Ingersoll, now the solitary member of the Committee of Ways and Means opposed to the reported bill. He was unwell, and soon gave way to a motion for the committee to rise. The House soon after adjourned.

Mr. Hoffman came up to me, and we had an hour's conversation upon the proposed Tariff bill. He professes to be a radical, and has all the contracted prejudices of that political sect. He has considerable talent, and some power of eloquence; but his whole system of government is comprised in the maxim of leaving money in the pockets of the people. This is always the high-road to popularity, and it is always travelled by those who have not resolution, intelligence, and energy to attempt the exploration of any other. Yet it appears to me that Hoffman is now somewhat distrustful of it himself, and would take another road if he dared.

14th. Confined the whole day to my chamber with extreme debility, unable to read or write and almost to stand. This was the first day that I have missed attendance in the House of

Representatives, when in Washington, since I have been a member.

16th. I was this day so far recovered as to be able to attend the Committee of Manufactures and the House. Hoffman, Findlay, and Barbour were present in committee; Condict, Horn, and Worthington absent. Read the letters from the Clerk and printer of the House concerning the manufacture documents. Discussion upon the report to be made to the House. Hoffman wished to screw the Clerk and printer. I was averse to this, and proposed to report the letters of the Clerk and printer with a single observation. Findlay concurred with me.

I produced again my projected resolution calling upon the Secretary of the Treasury for a list of articles upon which six millions of duties may be reduced without prejudice to existing establishments. Hoffman again talked it down. Finding it useless to press the subject in committee, I offered the resolution in the House, and another of the same purport addressed to the President of the United States. By the rules of the House, they lie over one day.

The President's message against nullification, with proclamation, ordinance, etc., was presented to the House. R. H. Wilde, of Georgia, moved to postpone the consideration of it till to-morrow; but this motion was rejected. Williams, of North Carolina, moved the reference of the message and documents to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union. Stewart, of Pennsylvania, moved reference to a select committee of one member from each State. Neither of these motions prevailed. W. S. Archer, of Virginia, moved the reference to the Committee on the Judiciary, of which John Bell, of Tennessee, is Chairman; and this was carried. Twenty-five thousand copies of the message and documents were ordered to be printed, on motion of Arnold, of Tennessee.

18th. My two resolutions were again opposed by Hoffman till the expiration of the hour. My resolution for a call upon the President has been ludicrously misprinted. I was obliged to explain it to the House. Nuckolls, of South Carolina, was, at his request by letter, excused from further service upon two

committees. The reason for the request alleged is ill health. The real reason is the attitude assumed by South Carolina toward the Government of the Union. Nuckolls is a nullifier.

20th. I had a long morning visit from John Sergeant. Sergeant is in full and profitable practice at the bar, and is here attending the session of the Supreme Court of the United States. But he has fallen into unpopular politics, and is soured in temper. He was nominated by the National Republican Convention at Baltimore last December, and by the Convention of young men at Washington last May, as a candidate for the office of Vice-President of the United States, with Henry Clay as their candidate for President. These nominations have totally failed; and Sergeant feels severely the disappointment. Sergeant is an honest and a very able man, of a class that never can be favorites of the people. It is his misfortune to be associated in this nomination with Mr. Clay, whose vaulting ambition has overleaped itself. The aspirants to the Presidency ruin their own prospects by the precipitation with which they rush to their prize. This has been especially the mistake of Mr. Clay, who, with more eloquence and much more management than Sergeant, has less real talent, a weaker judgment, and far less consistency of principle.

23d. The Tariff bill was again debated in committee of the whole. N. Appleton finished his speech against it, and was followed by Horace Everett on the same side. The committee rose about five P.M. Speight scolded the House into committee again. The yeas and nays, on questions of adjournment and calls of the House, were taken four or five times.

Everett finished his speech, and Wilde began a very wild one in favor of the bill. He appealed especially to the Southern and New York Van Buren members, and intimated very distinctly that if the Van Buren men expected to obtain any Southern votes for the little magician they must abandon the protective system and vote for this bill. He alluded to Mr. Clay as having lost his popularity throughout the Union by his connection with the last Administration. The House adjourned at nine in the evening, leaving his speech unfinished. I asked him after the adjournment for an explanation of this.

24th. Wilde concluded his speech—recanted some of his assertions made last evening, and apologized to N. Appleton and to me. Vinton's speech against the bill—bold and vehement. The committee rose, but, at Speight's rallying order, the House went into committee again. Vinton finished his speech. At one passage of it McDuffie interrupted him with a cry of "Robespierre," which was followed by a general hiss. Carson argufied to the House that the hiss was at Vinton and not at McDuffie. Vinton, without losing his temper, corrected the misrepresentation of his words. Watmough interposed to conciliate. Calls to order all around. Watmough moved the committee to rise; refused. Watmough spoke against the bill. Arnold, of Tennessee, began a speech against the bill. Committee rose, and the House adjourned shortly before nine P.M.

27th. I read last evening General John Armstrong's notice of my eulogy upon the life and character of James Monroe. The pamphlet is anonymous. Armstrong never dared to publish the Newburg Letters with his name. He was annoyed by the passage of the eulogy in which there is a censure upon his blundering military pedantry in the summer of 1814, when he was Secretary of War, and he has published a pamphlet in vindication of his own conduct, and of the bitterest abuse upon Mr. Monroe and upon me. There is nothing in it that I think needs reply.

28th. Edward Everett mentioned an overture from Bell, of Tennessee (Nullification), for a bargain to pass the Land bill as an equivalent for the Tariff bill. John Reed proposed a meeting to-morrow morning of the Massachusetts members of the House, to consult thereon.

29th. Meeting of the Massachusetts members of the House at eleven o'clock, in the committee-room of the Committee of Commerce. Choate, Davis, and Everett absent; all the rest present. Consultation, but no conclusion.

30th. At the House, I presented the resolutions of the Legislature of Massachusetts upon the Tariff bill. They were read, ordered to be printed, and committed to the committee of the whole on the Union. After this vote had passed, Wilde, of Georgia, moved its reconsideration.

I moved that the memorial of the Permanent Committee of the New York Convention should be read. The Speaker produced it; and it was read in part, till nearly the expiration of the hour, when the reading was suspended. It was ordered to be printed, and referred to the committee of the whole on the Union.

31st. At the House. Wilde's motion for reconsideration debated. John Davis; Edward Everett. I spoke harshly of Wilde. Debate superseded by the expiration of the hour. Tariff bill in committee of the whole. Banks and Evans, of Maine. Two excellent speeches against the bill. Leonard Jarvis, of Maine, in its favor. Burd, of Pennsylvania, ludicrous. Question taken upon striking out the duties on teas and coffee. Carried—sixty-nine to sixty-four. I was out of the House at the moment of the vote. Campbell P. White, of New York, offers amendments to be printed. Committee rose. House adjourned at five P.M. In the evening I received Stansbury's report of my remarks.

February 1st. At the House. Duncan, of Illinois, presented resolutions of the Legislature of that State approving the sentiments expressed by the President relating to the disposal of the public lands, and asking for a reduction of their price to carry his views into effect—that is, to give the lands away. Wilde's motion for reconsideration was taken up. Wilde himself absent. I finished my speech. Alexander, of Virginia, a member of the Committee of Ways and Means; Wayne; Clayton, of Georgia. Wickliffe proposes that by unanimous consent Wilde's motion should be laid on the table. I said that, although I had been desirous that the question should be taken by yeas and nays, I would, in the spirit of conciliation, consent to lay it on the table. But John Davis objected, and the hour elapsed.

2d. At the House. Mr. Wilde's motion for reconsideration, after speeches by John Davis, Wayne, and Clayton, was withdrawn by him.

4th. The Tariff bill further discussed in committee of the whole. Ward, of New York, speaks in favor of the bill; Wardwell and Leavitt against it. I moved to strike out the

enacting clause, and made a speech. Barringer, Burges; Drayton, of South Carolina, grossly misrepresents me. My answer. He replies and persists; misrepresents the Legislature of Massachusetts. Patton, of Virginia, has the floor. Committee rise.

5th. Tariff bill in committee of the whole. Patton's speech of three hours against me, and my speech. John W. Taylor makes a question of order upon my motion. The Chairman decides the motion is in order. My motion to strike out the enacting clause rejected. Clause for laying additional duties on silks struck out. Long debate on discrimination between European and Indian silks.

11th. Tariff bill. One question of amendment taken, and carried. Wickliffe gave notice that he would to-morrow move to lay the bill on the table. Dearborn made the same motion this day. Rejected—one hundred and thirteen to eighty-five. Drayton moved to recommit the bill, with instructions to report a short bill. Other motions followed, by Irvine, of Ohio, Wickliffe, and Wardwell. Wayne moved to postpone the bill till to-morrow; which was carried. Clay gave notice in the Senate that he would to-morrow ask leave to introduce a bill upon this subject. Clay and Calhoun are said to have settled the question between themselves.

13th. At one o'clock the Senate came in. Hugh Lawson White, President pro tempore of the Senate, presided. The Electoral votes for President and Vice-President of the United States were opened, counted, and announced. Of two hundred and eighty-eight votes, Andrew Jackson had two hundred and nineteen for President; Henry Clay, forty-nine; John Floyd, eleven; William Wirt, seven. For Vice-President, Martin Van Buren, one hundred and eighty-nine; John Sergeant, forty-nine; William Wilkins, thirty; Henry Lee, eleven; Amos Ellmaker, seven. Wirt and Ellmaker were the Anti-Masonic vote of Vermont; Floyd and Lee, the Nullification, Anti-Tariff vote of South Carolina; Clay and Sergeant, the Masonic National Republican vote; and the thirty Jackson votes of Pennsylvania were given for Wilkins as Vice-President instead of Van Buren. Andrew Jackson was then proclaimed to be elected as President,

and Martin Van Buren as Vice-President, of the United States for four years from the 4th of March next. The Senate withdrew, and the House shortly after three o'clock adjourned. I had some conversation with John Davis, who disapproves the compromise between Clay and Calhoun, and said Clay had stepped over the Potomac.

14th. From noon till half-past four was consumed in balloting for a printer to the House of Representatives for the next Congress, without effecting a choice. Francis P. Blair, publisher of the Globe newspaper, had from eighty-nine to ninety-eight votes—the Administration strength in the House; Gales and Seaton, from sixty to eighty-four; Duff Green, twenty-five; Condy Raguet, ten; Thurlow Weed, twelve; and always several blanks. Judge Wayne made a question whether the blanks should be counted. They were counted.

15th. At noon the balloting for printer to the House of Representatives for the next Congress recommenced. At the first ballot there were ninety votes for Blair and ninety-one for Gales and Seaton. There were still votes for Condy Raguet and Duff Green, and blanks. At the third ballot, Gales and Seaton had ninety-three and Blair ninety. Then commenced the dilatory movements. Hall, of North Carolina, moved to postpone the election till the next session of Congress; which was contrary to law. He finally withdrew the motion. Boon, of Indiana, moved to postpone till the 3d of March, which will be on a Sunday, then to the 2d, and called the yeas and nays. Williams moved to lay Boon's motion on the table; which the Speaker said was not in order. Wickliffe doubted, but did not appeal. Boon's motion was rejected by yeas and nays—ninety-two to one hundred and one. At the next, fourth ballot, the votes were one hundred and ninety-seven. Gales and Seaton had ninety-nine, and were chosen. A buzz of satisfaction went round the hall, outside of the bar. I secured this election to Gales and Seaton by prevailing upon the Anti-Masons, twelve of whom had at the first ballot voted for Thurlow Weed, to vote finally for them. Three or four of them yielded with great reluctance.

16th. There was a call of the House, and three or four

motions successively to adjourn. No signs of the Tariff bill. Drayton not in the House; absent by reason of sickness. About two o'clock the House adjourned. It was impossible to keep a quorum in the House. I went to the Senate-chamber, which was so crowded that it was a full quarter of an hour before I could get in. Mr. Webster was speaking in answer to Mr. Calhoun upon what is called the Enforcing bill. His argument was to prove that the Government of the United States was a Government of the people, and not a compact between States. It is both; and all constitutional government is a compact. He spoke till three, when the Senate took a recess till five. Mr. Webster is a very handsome speaker, but he overlabored a point as plain as day, and he hung his cause upon a broken hinge in maintaining that a Government is not a compact.

21st. At the House, the bill for enforcing the collection of the revenue came from the Senate; passed at ten o'clock last evening—thirty-two to one, all the other members opposed to it having seceded. Long debate in the House whether it should be printed, and order taken to dispose of it. Final refusal to take it up in preference to the Tariff bill. That resumed about three P.M. Paragraphs respecting oils. Amendments of the committee of the whole rejected, and then adopted, respecting olive, rape-seed, and linseed oils. Paragraphs laying new duties on coffee and teas struck out in committee of the whole. House concur therein by yeas and nays. Motion to adjourn carried by yeas and nays at six P.M. Bell, of Tennessee, asked me if I would vote for a bill limiting the Act of 14th July last to 1st January, 1835. Conversation with him and with John Davis. Bell is in no small perplexity.

22d. I went into the library and looked into Gray's works for his fragment of verse cited by Gibbon, and then into the Senate, where they were engaged upon Mr. Clay's new Tariff bill. Long debate upon an amendment offered by him; carried —twenty-six to sixteen.

23d. I went into the Senate-chamber and heard a debate upon Mr. Clay's Compromise bill, at the second reading—a debate brisk, animated, and somewhat acrimonious. About

nine o'clock in the evening the bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading.

25th. Tariff bill. Letcher moves that it be recommitted to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, with instructions to report Mr. Clay's bill "totidem verbis" as an amendment; carried. Wickliffe, Chairman of the committee of the whole; the bill reported to the House, according to instructions; report accepted, and the bill ordered to be engrossed for a third reading to-morrow—one hundred and five to seventy-one; call of the House refused. John Davis and Horace Everett made a very few remarks, objecting to the bill; in vain: it swept like a hurricane. Thirty members absent. All the machinery representation united. House adjourned after eight in the evening.

26th. I had called the Committee of Manufactures to meet at ten this morning, and they met. All the members were present. I asked them what report they proposed to make to the House on the subjects referred to them. After debate, the majority directed me to ask that the committee should be discharged from the further consideration of the subjects referred to them.

I then told them that I had prepared a report for the minority of the committee, which I should present to the House, after requesting for the committee to be discharged. Hoffman said he should oppose the reception of this report by the House. He made attempts to get possession of it, and asked for the reading of it. I read about four pages of it, when the committee adjourned till to-morrow morning at nine.

In the House, the Clay Tariff bill was passed by previous question—one hundred and nineteen to eighty-five. I desired to ask a question with regard to the construction of the first section of the bill, but was not permitted. The Revenue Collection bill, otherwise called the Force bill, or, as the nullifiers call it, the Bloody bill, was then taken up, and a very disorderly struggle to put it off continued till four o'clock, when the House took a recess till six.

27th. The Committee of Manufactures met again this morning at nine. The reading of my report was not resumed, but

Hoffman complained that the report took the majority by surprise, and announced in a very menacing tone that he should oppose its being received; that he would insist upon its being read through, and would then speak against it to the last moment of the session to prevent its being printed by order of the House. He said he was going out of public life, and wished to part in peace and friendship with every one. He hoped, therefore, that I would agree to some arrangement of this matter.

I asked him what arrangement he proposed.

He said it was that I should not present the report in the House.

To this I answered that, terrific as his threats were, I could not agree to his arrangement. There was sharp discussion till the adjournment of the committee without day.

At the meeting of the House, I requested, in the name of the majority of the Committee of Manufactures, that they should be discharged from further consideration of the subjects referred to them, and then offered the report of the minority of the committee, signed by Dr. Condict and myself, which I moved should be laid on the table and printed.

Hoffman then objected, and called for the reading of the report. Ten pages of it were read, until, at noon, the House passed to the orders of the day. The District bills were then passed. Then the Revenue Collection or Force bill was taken up. Carson spoke against it. At four the House took a recess till six. I came home, dined, and returned at six. Clayton, of Georgia, spoke against the bill; Isaacs, of Tennessee, Blair, of South Carolina, and Wayne, of Georgia, in favor of it. McDuffie, about ten o'clock at night, moved an adjournment, which succeeded.

28th. At the House, the Committee of Ways and Means made two reports—that of the majority favorable to the Bank of the United States, and that of the minority, by Polk, against it. The report of the minority of the Committee of Manufactures was taken up. I moved that the further reading of it be dispensed with, that it be laid on the table, and printed.

Hoffman moved that it should not be received, but the

Speaker told him it was too late for that; it had been received and partly read, and was before the House.

Hoffman then asked for a division of the question upon my motion, to be taken first on laying on the table and then on the printing. The laying on the table was agreed to without a division, and Hoffman commenced a speech against the printing, which continued till twelve o'clock, and was unfinished when the House passed to the order of the day.

McDuffie then made his speech against the Enforcing bill, or rather in vindication of the nullification ordinance of South Carolina, for in a speech of three hours he just made out to reach the bill before the House, and then sat down. The House then took a recess from three to five o'clock. At the urgent invitation of Thomas Newton, the member from Norfolk, Virginia, I went and dined with him at his lodgings. Thomas Marshall, of Kentucky, and John J. Milligan, of Delaware, both members of the House, are fellow-lodgers and boarders with him, and John Taliaferro, formerly a member from Virginia, also lodges there. He was there when we arrived, but was engaged to dine abroad, and soon went away. We had a short and cheerful dinner, and at five returned to the House. I had offered in the morning a joint resolution to suspend for the present session of Congress the seventeenth and eighteenth rules for the transaction of business; the seventeenth being, that no bill originating in either House should be sent to the other on the last three days of the session; the eighteenth is, that no bill shall be sent to the President for his approbation on the last day of the session. There was a resolution from the Senate to suspend so far the seventeenth rule that the Houses should receive original bills from each other to-morrow and Saturday. I now moved to amend the resolution from the Senate by striking out the whole of it after the word "Resolved" and inserting my resolution in its stead. This, after much captious debate, was adopted by a large majority, and was concurred in by the Senate. Isaacs, of Tennessee, told me that the President had religious scruples against signing bills on a Sunday. I showed him in the Statute book eight or ten laws approved by Mr. Jefferson, Sunday, 3d March, 1805.

The Revenue Collection bill was taken up. Wayne, of Georgia, spoke in support of the bill; Foster, of Georgia, and Daniel, of Kentucky, against it—all long speeches. Craig, of Virginia, moved the previous question; which, after much chicanery, was carried—one hundred and ten to forty-four. The vote to engross the bill for a third reading was one hundred and twenty-six to thirty-four. Bell moved the third reading now. Warren R. Davis, Gordon, Coulter, Coke, and Bouldin all wanted to speak against the bill, and Wickliffe got up one of his questions of order, on pretence that the bill had not been read, and that it was one which, by the rule of the House, must go through a committee of the whole. The bill was read, and the Speaker decided that it needed not go through a committee of the whole. Beardsley moved the previous question, that the bill be read the third time now, and it was carried—one hundred and eleven to forty. The House then adjourned, about half-past one o'clock in the morning, without taking the question upon the bill.

The Speaker this morning called me to the chair of the committee of the whole on three private bills. Just before midnight, while Daniel was speaking, Branch offered to pair off with me; but I declined.

March 1st. Before the meeting of the House this morning, I asked Mr. Beardsley, a member from New York, to expostulate with his colleague, Hoffman, against his avowed purpose to talk out the remainder of the session to prevent the printing of my minority report of the Committee of Manufactures, and to tell him he must allow me time to reply, and the House time to take the question. Beardsley spoke to him, and he agreed to take the question by yeas and nays, without saying anything further on either side. When the report was called up, I stated this agreement to the House, to which Hoffman assented. John S. Barbour said there was not perhaps in the whole report a sentiment with which he concurred, but that he should vote for the printing as a right of the minority. The question was taken by yeas and nays, and the printing was carried—ninety-three to fifty-eight; about fifty members not voting.

There was a report from the majority of the Committee of

Ways and Means favorable to the Bank of the United States, concluding with a resolution that the public funds may be safely deposited in it, and a counter-report, made by Polk for the minority, with a budget of documents. Ten thousand copies of both were ordered to be printed. The question upon the passage of the Revenue Collection bill was taken up by yeas and nays—one hundred and forty-nine to forty-eight. McDuffie moved an amendment of the title, to read, "An Act to subvert the sovereignty of the States of this Union, to establish a consolidated Government without limitation of powers, and to make the civil subordinate to the military power." Wayne moved to lay the amendment on the table, but the Speaker declared this to be not in order. Speight moved the previous question; which was carried—one hundred and fifty to thirty-five—and set aside McDuffie's amendment. The subsequent orders of the day were then postponed to take up Mr. Clay's bill for distributing the proceeds of the public lands. The House went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Polk in the chair. The bill was debated captiously by C. C. Clay, Mardis, and Plummer, from Alabama and Mississippi; Plummer was especially tedious and provoking. About eleven at night the bill was reported to the House, and driven to the third reading by previous questions. It passed by yeas and nays of ninety-six to forty. Then the Harbor and Light-house bill was for some time considered, laid aside, and followed by the General Appropriation bill; after which, a bill authorizing the President to appoint a clerk to sign his name to land-warrants was agreed to. The bills were reported to the House, which then, some time after one in the morning, adjourned. The session had continued little short of fifteen hours, without a recess.

2d. The first business taken up by the House was the resolution reported by the majority of the Committee of Ways and Means, that the public funds may safely continue to be deposited in the Bank of the United States; against which Polk, of Tennessee, made a violent speech. He was answered by Ingersoll, and afterwards by McDuffie. The previous question was moved, and, although Wayne, of Georgia, pleaded hard to speak, was

carried, and the resolution was adopted—one hundred and ten to forty-six. Wayne voted against it, upon which I condoled with him. He was mortified to be compelled to give such a vote, and afterwards read to me a letter that he had written to a friend, saying that his vote was not owing to any doubt of the solvency of the bank, but because the withdrawal of the public deposits was a discretionary power given by the law to the Secretary of the Treasury, and he would not divide with him the responsibility. Wayne said that was ground which I had taken at the commencement of the session—which was true; but that was before the investigation referred by the House to the Committee of Ways and Means, and against the appointment of a select committee.

The General Appropriation bill was taken up and debated till four o'clock, and then, by the previous question, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading. There was a recess from four to six o'clock. I went and dined again with Thomas Newton at his lodgings. Clement C. Dorsey was among the fellow-lodgers there. At six we returned to the House. The Appropriation bills were passed and sent to the Senate, who had half a night to consider and pass them. The House went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and hurried through an Indian Treaty bill; the bill to explain the eighteenth section of the Act of 14th July, 1832; the Hardware bill, upon which, at my motion, was engrafted, as an additional section, a bill from the Senate restoring duties upon brass, copper, and tobacco in leaves, which, being a bill to raise revenue, could not constitutionally originate in the Senate; and the Light-house bill, upon which there was much wrangling. The House sat till five o'clock, Sunday morning. The President retained the Land bill without signing it. Felix Grundy stopped the Light-House bill in the Senate, by objecting to its being read the second time on the same day.

Howard, of Baltimore, moved the vote of thanks to Stevenson, which was entered as passed unanimously; though when he came to the word "impartiality" there was a burst of laughter in the House. About two o'clock in the morning, Chittenden Lyon, of Kentucky, drunk as a lord, presented resolutions of

the Legislature of Kentucky, which he said he had just received, and which he moved to be laid on the table and printed. On being asked what was the subject of the resolutions, he drivelled out, "Nullification." Almost every quarter of an hour, after midnight, business was suspended for want of a quorum. Shortly before three o'clock, Whittlesey, of Ohio, prevailed upon the House to go again into committee of the whole. There was a call of the House, and one hundred and sixteen members answered to their names. Several private bills passed through the committee, were reported to the House, and passed.

About four, Sevier, the delegate from Arkansas, moved and urged the House to go into committee of the whole upon three important Territorial bills; but, on taking the question, only ninety members answered. Of course, twenty-six had withdrawn since the call half an hour before. A message was received from the Senate, that they had appointed a committee to wait on the President and inform him that, unless he had further communications to make to Congress, the Houses were ready to adjourn. Campbell P. White, of New York, and Polk, of Tennessee, were appointed the committee on the part of the House. They soon returned, and announced that the President had no further communications to make.

Stevenson, the Speaker, made a silly speech in return for the vote of thanks, and adjourned the House without day. The hands of the clock were pointing at five as we passed under them out of the hall. I took Edward Everett home, and we were in imminent danger of oversetting in the midst of Pennsylvania Avenue, nearly opposite to Gadsby's. We got out of the carriage. Kirk was asleep, and the horses had stopped. I ordered Ball to take the reins; we re-entered the carriage, and got into the macadamized part of the Avenue. On reaching Mr. Everett's lodgings, I alighted with him, and thence walked home, with Fahrenheit's thermometer at 6°—the extremest cold of the winter, and the ground covered with snow. The day was dawning, and I retired to bed, exhausted and dejected, but with blessings of gratitude to the Supreme Disposer of events for the merciful dispensations of His providence in bringing the

affairs of the country to a condition more favorable to peace and union than it has been of late, and though still surrounded with dangers; and also in the disposal of my own destiny, for conducting me through the severe and humiliating trial which I have endured without absolute and irretrievable ruin. My career is yet to be closed. It is in its last and lingering stage. May its remaining afflictions be mitigated! May its last moments be serene! May its transition be to a happier state of existence!

CHAPTER XVII.

THE TWENTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

March 4th, 1833.—Andrew Jackson was this day inaugurated for a second term of four years as President of the United States, and Martin Van Buren was sworn into office as Vice-President. Mr. John Sergeant called here; he had attended the ceremony at the Capitol. The inaugural speech was brief, and full of smooth professions. Sergeant himself was the candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the National Republican opposition. Henry Clay was their candidate for the Presidency. They mustered forty-nine electoral votes with the help of Massachusetts federalism. Had Mr. Clay been unshackled with Freemasonry, or manfully renounced it, they would in all probability have carried the election.

6th. Edward Everett was here; going to-morrow for home. He spoke to me of a purpose concerning which his brother had written to him—to unite the National Republicans and the Anti-Masons of Massachusetts upon me as a candidate for the office of Governor the next year, Mr. Lincoln having declined. Hallett has written to me on the same subject. I told Everett that I should much prefer to come again to the House of Representatives; that I was unwilling to involve myself in the "tracasseries" of State politics, and that I believed the Masonic National Republicans too much exasperated against me for my anti-Masonry to unite with the Anti-Masons in supporting me; that if it could effect the union of those parties, I might consent to serve for a single year, though I had firmly resolved that I never would accept that office, having been all my life, with the exception of a single year in the Senate of Massachusetts, in the public service of the whole Union.

7th. Finding Mr. Duff Green, the printer for Congress, in

no hurry to print the report of the minority of the Committee of Manufactures, I wrote him a note asking the manuscript for a few days, and he sent it to me. I took it to the office of the National Intelligencer, and left it with Mr. Gales, who promised me that it should be published entire in the Intelligencer of next Tuesday. I then walked to the Capitol, but the Supreme Court had adjourned. Mr. Chapman Johnson had closed his argument, and was to be answered by Walter Jones, and afterwards by Mr. Webster. Mr. Calhoun's speech of 15th February, upon the Enforcement bill, is published in the Telegraph. It contains his system of nullification. His learning is shallow, his mind argumentative, and his assumption of principle destitute of discernment. His insanity begins with his principles, from which his deductions are ingeniously drawn.

8th. I am especially desirous of reviewing the Code of Levitical Law, and of examining it as a mode of legislation. This task has long been in my contemplation, but I have never yet settled the principles upon which it should be executed. The history, the legislation, the government of the Israelites are so blended together that it is no easy matter to segregate them, as must be done for a clear analysis. The religion, laws, and government were indissolubly connected together. The different offices of Moses, Joshua, the Levites and Priests, the Judges, Seers, Prophets, and Kings—the subordinate administrative offices—the force of the Scriptures, of the Psalms, Proverbs, Prophecies, and numberless other considerations—how are they to be methodized? I am to reflect upon this subject further. I walked to the Capitol with a hope to hear Mr. Webster, but was disappointed. The Supreme Court had adjourned.

9th. I walked to the Capitol, where, in the Supreme Court, I found Mr. Clay and Mr. Webster arguing the two sides of a writ of error from a Court in Louisiana—dry as dust, and the eloquence of the champions could not make it otherwise. I spoke to Mr. Webster, and told him I wished to have some conversation with him before he leaves the city. He promised to call on me.

12th. Went to the office of the National Intelligencer, and

received from Mr. Gales the manuscript of the report. He sent me forty copies of the newspaper containing it, part of which I distributed to some of my friends, dispatching them by this evening's mail. This document is an appeal to the people, I fear a vain and fruitless one, against the system of government promulgated in the last annual Presidential message, leading to the dissolution of the Union. I passed an hour at the Supreme Court, where Walter Jones closed, and Mr. Webster began, the argument in answer to Chapman Johnson.

14th. I walked to the Capitol, and heard Mr. Wirt about an hour, concluding the argument in the case of King and White, the chancery cause upon which I had heard Mr. Chapman Johnson. I took with me notes of invitation to the Judges to dine with me next Saturday, but the Court is to adjourn to-morrow. Judge Story is already gone, and all the others intend to take their departure on Saturday. Returning home, I stopped at Mr. Webster's lodgings and invited him to dine with me on Saturday—which he promised. He was dispatching copies of his speech in reply to J. C. Calhoun, published in this morning's Intelligencer. I had some conversation with him, and he promised to call and see me to-morrow. John W. Taylor had spoken to me of his conversation with Mr. Webster and with Judge McLean, who, he says, thinks of nothing but the Presidency by day and dreams of nothing else by night. Mr. Webster was not very communicative to me.

15th. Mr. Gales came this morning with the manuscript notes of the reporter of the Telegraph of Colonel Drayton's speech in answer to mine on Verplanck's Tariff bill. That and my reply he will publish to-morrow. But Drayton has altered so much in revising the notes of the reporter, that Gales enquired whether he should not take some notice of it by some note, editorial, or written by me. I supposed some note would be proper, but left it to him to make it. In the afternoon, Mr. Webster came, and I had a long conversation with him upon public affairs. He thinks it doubtful whether Edward Livingston will go to France this year. He himself will visit the State of Ohio next summer. A boy from the National Intelli-

gencer office brought me the proof of my speech, to be published in the paper to-morrow morning, but I had not time to revise it.

29th. As I was returning home I met at the door of Mrs. Strother's house a man named Andrew Wallace, who was coming to see me, and came. He said he was one hundred and three years of age the 26th of this month. A Scot born, descended from Robert, a brother of Sir William, Wallace. He was at the battles of Preston-Pans and Culloden, a soldier of Prince Charles Edward, whom, as well as the Duke of Cumberland, he well remembers. After the battle of Culloden, he fled first to Scotland, and thence, in 1752, to this country; served in our army from 1776 till it was disbanded; re-enlisted in 1786, and continued as a sergeant-major in the army till 1813; then discharged at the age of eighty-three; has since been a teacher till his strength failed; lives at West Chester, Pennsylvania, and comes here now to solicit an increase of pension. His eye-sight, hearing, and memory seem unimpaired. What a life and survival of chances!

April 2d. The Hingham Gazette of Friday last has several electioneering essays, pro and con; but the National Republican Convention at Scituate, on Thursday, the 28th, unanimously, by ballot, nominated me as a candidate for the Twenty-Third Congress, and passed a handsome resolution of approbation of my service in the Twenty-Second. I have done them injustice by my suspicions, which were founded on the attacks against me in the Hingham Gazette, unanswered, the cold and doubting neutrality of the Old Colony Memorial, and the shyness of the Pilgrim. These are all the newspapers published in the district, excepting the We the People, an Anti-Masonic paper of scarcely any circulation, the zeal of which was rather adapted to stimulate and exasperate the Masonic opposition. The party adverse to Anti-Masonry in the district is three-fifths of the whole vote; not quite half consisting of National Republicans, and about one-seventh of Jacksonians. These have nominated Jedediah Lincoln, whom I do not know. There is an article in the Hingham Gazette recommending to the adversaries of Anti-Masonry, National Republicans, to vote for the Jackson candi-

date, if they present a decent man. It is probable that the greater number of them will not vote at all.

8th. Mr. Gales gave me several Boston newspapers of Thursday last, containing returns of the Congressional elections. Choate, Everett, and Davis certainly re-elected; Bates, Grennell, and Briggs doubtless. W. Baylies elected in Bristol; Dearborn fails in Norfolk and Middlesex; F. C. Gray in Boston; Cushing in North Essex. Reed, in Barnstable, is chosen almost without opposition, and in twenty of twenty-four towns constituting the Twelfth District more than three-fourths of the votes are for me. This disposition of the people is a subject to me of the most ardent gratitude to Heaven.

9th. I went to the office of the National Intelligencer, and enquired of Mr. Seaton whether he would publish a letter from me to Edward Livingston as Grand High-Priest of the General Royal Arch Chapter of the United States. He somewhat hesitated. I told him it was an answer to an address delivered by Mr. Livingston at his installation as Grand High-Priest, which was published in the Intelligencer of 22d April, 1830. He said that might be a reason for admitting it, although they had generally excluded pieces relating to the Masonic controversy on both sides, to avoid getting entangled in it. He said he would look over my letter, and either publish it or send it back to me with a written answer giving the reasons for declining so to do.

10th. I went to the office of the National Intelligencer, to enquire what they had determined to do with my letter to the General Grand High-Priest, Edward Livingston. It was already printed for the Intelligencer of to-morrow. I revised the proof of the Latin quotation from Cicero, which was much mutilated. The remainder of the day I was much occupied in preparing for my departure.

11th. The Intelligencer had my letter to Edward Livingston. I cut it out of the paper, and enclosed it, with a copy of the Boston stereotype edition of my letters on the Entered Apprentice's oath, and the letter to B. Cowell on Political Anti-Masonry, and I sent the whole under a cover directed to him.

BALTIMORE, 12th.—We loosed from the wharf five minutes

after six. The boat was full of passengers—I suppose at least one hundred and fifty. Among them, besides Mr. Bradley and his family, and Colonel Worth, were Mr. John H. Eaton and his wife, Mr. Duff Green, and, I believe, his daughter, Andrew Wallace, the centenarian Scot, Professor Henry Ware and his wife, Dr. Waterhouse's daughters, returning from a sanatory excursion to Alexandria, and an Englishman named Messenger, now residing at New York; also a little band of Italian musicians, with two harps, one violin, a clarionet, and a flute, who enlivened the passage with much discourse of sweet music. I got into a discussion with Duff Green, upon the tariff, domestic manufactures and protection, slave labor, and consolidation, which attracted round us a circle of listeners, to my great annoyance. Another discussion arose between Mr. Messenger and another passenger, upon the project of Earl Grey's Ministry to emancipate the slaves in the British West Indies, from which discussion I with some difficulty kept myself aloof. I had a conversation with Colonel Worth, who is excessively discontented; told me that General Thayer was actually removed from the Superintendency of the Military Academy at West Point, also Captain Hitchcock, the second in command; that the successor in the course of routine will be a Captain De Russey, but that the establishment will be broken up. Worth told me also that Amos Kendall and Van Ness, the Mayor of Washington, had undertaken to investigate certain charges of peculation against Commodore Rodgers, and went to him at the office of the Navy Commissioners; that Rodgers told them if he had been guilty of official misdemeanor he had a right to a trial by his peers; that he should not hold himself accountable to them; that there was the door of the office, out of which he recommended them to retire, to save him and them the mortification of his kicking them out, which he should certainly otherwise do. They sneaked off, and then an article of the Globe disclaimed any intention of trying the Commodore, and pretended that the enquiry was only of some malversation of his clerks.

Andrew Wallace, the descendant from Robert the brother of Sir William, fought over again his battles of Preston-Pans and

Culloden, and at the suggestion of Mr. Messenger a collection of a few dollars was made for the old man among the passengers.

I had a conversation with Professor and Mrs. Ware, after dinner, upon Sir Walter Scott and Shakspeare, Homer and Virgil, Lord Byron, the Waverley Novels, Tom Jones, and Gil Blas.

Mr. Eaton came up and spoke to me several times. He told me that on the day of the conflagration of the Treasury Department he had picked up in the street an order signed by the Secretary of the Treasury the day before, for a repayment of duties under the Act of the last session. The order had been blown off by the wind from the perishing edifice, and, though somewhat scorched, was still entire.

We landed at Frenchtown at eleven o'clock, and crossed the Peninsula to New Castle in the railway cars, impelled by the locomotive-engine in fifty minutes—sixteen miles. But we had flakes of fire floating about us in the cars the whole time. With the allowance of two minutes for the slackening of speed at the departure and arrival, we travelled at the rate of a mile every three minutes, and were precisely one hour from landing at Frenchtown from one steamer to leaving the wharf at New Castle in the other. We landed at four o'clock at Philadelphia, and I took my lodgings at the United States Hotel.

PHILADELPHIA, 15th.—Mr. N. Biddle had persuaded Mr. Lawrence and me to remain at Philadelphia over this day to dine with him. Mr. Thomas Hulme called upon me immediately after breakfast. He is an Englishman, born at Manchester, but has been many years settled here, and has amassed a fortune by manufacturing. He is much devoted to that interest, and he has a project for emancipating the slaves of our Southern States and making compensation at the public expense to their owners, and for offering to the South an amicable separation of the States as an alternative. This is a subject upon which people here have brought themselves to reason very coolly.

Mr. Fletcher came, and invited Mr. Lawrence and his family, and me, to visit his two manufactures, one of silver and gold plate, and the other of engraved steel cylinders for printing

cotton. The plate is very neatly wrought, and the cylinders curiously engraved. Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence, with a boy and girl, and Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Lawrence, accompanied us in viewing the works of plate, but not those of the cylinders. Mr. Hulme was with us at both.

I called then upon R. Walsh, and passed about two hours with him. He showed me a quarto volume of Palgrave on the British Constitution. He gave me a Globe containing a burlesque parody, in verse, of part of my published letter to Edward Livingston. He told me that he would republish the letter, or any other that I should address to Livingston upon that subject, but that they wanted to keep me confined to Calhoun and the tariff, as subjects more important, and more worthy of me. I had much conversation with him upon the proposed organization of the Girard College, the Saint Sulpicians who educated him, the Jesuits, and the philosophy of Plato.

I afterwards called twice at the United States Bank to see Mr. Biddle, but he was not there. Met at the door Mr. Horn and Dr. Mease, who promised to send me, and did send me, some Lima beans for seed. I finished a second letter for publication, addressed to Edward Livingston. Directed it to Gales and Seaton, and enclosed it under a cover to my wife. It is too hastily written, and ought, perhaps, not to have been published without severe revisal.

Dined with Mr. N. Biddle. Went with Mr. Abbott Lawrence. Met there R. Rush, who has just removed from New York to the neighborhood of Philadelphia, Dr. Kirkland, Judge Hopkinson, T. Peters, and some others. Mr. Richards, Mayor of the city, came in after dinner. Conversation with him on the organization of the Girard College, and the difficulty of carrying into execution the intentions of the founder, and of giving the boys a good religious education, and some of them classical accomplishments. Mr. Rush took me to my lodgings about nine in the evening, and I gave him a National Intelligencer containing my letter to Edward Livingston, which he had not seen.

New York, 17th.—I called at the office of the Commercial Advertiser, and saw Colonel William L. Stone. His partner,

Mr. Clark, was with him. He was the person who wrote the Masonic manuscripts which Stone sent me, and of which I have taken a copy. I asked him to let me keep the originals; to which both he and Mr. Clark assented. I told them I should probably publish them. Clark said he should wish that the name of Chief-Justice Horner should not be used, nor that of Mr. Moseley, but otherwise did not object to the publication. I told Mr. Stone that I had not given up the cause of abolishing the Masonic obligations, and hoped he would not give it up; but he was very lukewarm upon the subject. He said the whole concern of Masonry and Anti-Masonry was going down in the State of New York as fast as it could; that all interest upon the subject was rapidly subsiding; that the Masons were giving up their lodges, and the Anti-Masons would never again muster so strong a vote as they had the last fall. He seemed inclined, however, to publish a cheap edition of his own book, with my letters to him upon the Entered Apprentice's oath, and those to Edward Livingston, by way of supplement or appendix. I asked him if he could furnish me with the proceedings of the Grand Lodge of the State of New York at their recent meeting at Albany. He could not. I enquired if he knew what number of lodges there had been in the State. He said about six hundred.

QUINCY, *May* 10th.—The newspapers contain accounts of a personal assault by the late Lieutenant Randolph, of the navy, upon President Jackson, on board a steamboat, at Alexandria. He simply tweaked him by the nose and went away. Jackson was much disposed to chastise him with his cane; but Randolph got away without even being arrested by the President's retinue. A bench warrant from the Circuit Court and a Justice's warrant were issued against Randolph, but he got out of their reach and out of the District into Virginia before they could be served. A President of the United States pulled by the nose is a new incident in the history of this country, and, as he himself has countenanced personal violence against members of Congress, he will not meet with much sympathy. The law provides no special penalty for this offence, the judicial proof of which would be a hundred times severer punishment upon

the sufferer than upon the culprit. Randolph may run a risk of being mobbed, and certainly would be so in a place where the President should be very popular. He is not so now in the District of Columbia.

11th. I went into Boston, and dined at Dr. George Parkman's with Mr. Charles Kemble and his daughter, Frances Ann. Dr. Parkman had made up this party on purpose to produce this meeting. His brothers, Francis and Daniel, Mr. and Mrs. R. G. Shaw, Judge Thacher, Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Lyman, Junr., and Mrs. Alexander H. Everett were there. Dr. Shattuck came in after dinner. I had much conversation with Miss Kemble, chiefly upon dramatic literature, but it differed not from what it might have been with any well-educated and intelligent young woman of her age. I spoke to her of some of her own poetical productions, but she did not appear inclined to talk of them. What she appeared chiefly to pride herself upon was feats of horsemanship. She said she had rode this morning about thirty miles, and leaped over many fences and stone walls. She said they expected to remain in this country till about this time next year. I asked her if she had ever seen her aunt, Mrs. Siddons, upon the stage. She had not, but had heard her read Shakspeare. She had known her only as a very good woman. She observed that she herself had been chiefly educated, and spent the greater part of her life, in France, and until a very few years since had no idea of going upon the stage.

June 7th. The first seedling apple-tree that I had observed on my return here just out of the ground was on the 22d of April. It had grown slowly but constantly since, and had put out five or six leaves. Last evening, after my return from Boston, I saw it perfectly sound. This morning I found it broken off, leaving one lobe of the seed-leaves, and one leaf over it. This may have been the work of a bug, or perhaps of a caterpillar. It would not be imaginable to any person free from hobby-horse or fanciful attachments, how much mortification such an incident occasions. St. Evremond, after removing into the country, returned to a city life because he found himself in despair for the loss of a pigeon. His conclusion was, that rural life induced exorbitant attachments to insignificant objects.

My experience is conformable to this. My natural propensity was to raise trees, fruit and forest, from the seed. I had it in early youth, but the course of my life deprived me of the means of pursuing the bent of my inclination. One shellbark-walnut-tree in my garden, the nut of which I planted 8th October, 1804, and one Mazzard cherry-tree in the grounds north of the house, the stone of which I planted about the same time, are the only remains of my experiments of so ancient a date. Had my life been spent in the country, and my experiments commenced while I was at college, I should now have a large fruit-garden, flourishing orchards of native fruit, and very valuable forests; instead of which I have a nursery of about half an acre of ground, half full of seedlings, from five years to five days old, bearing for the first time perhaps twenty peaches, and a few blossoms of apricots and cherries; and hundreds of seedlings of the present year perishing from day to day before my eyes.

17th. Anniversary of the battle of Bunker's Hill and the burning of Charlestown—one of the first events of which I have a personal recollection. Fifty-eight years have since then elapsed; about one person in ten then living yet exists. I was reminded of this anniversary upon hearing, with the rising sun, a salute of thirteen guns from Fort Independence, but passed the day in profound tranquillity, contrasting with the deep and awful agitation of that day in 1775. I am reading and making petty annotations upon the book of Leviticus, strolling about my garden and nursery, hoeing and plucking up weeds—a never-ceasing occupation. The perpetual reappearance of weeds is an admonition to me of my own faults, and should be a warning how it is necessary to treat them. And I look over my seedling-plants, my buds and grafts, as they grow—every day presenting some new aspect of observation. Planted for the first time a ripe Downton strawberry in the garden, and half a Kean seedling, left by the pirate bird, in a cream-colored pot. And I planted some garden cherry-stones, just ripening, and red and white strawberries in a patch under the shade of the old St. Michael's pear-tree. Some of my young red-oak-trees are putting forth shoots of a second growth this season.

Elms, the seeds of which were planted the last days of May and first week of this month, are continuing to come up.

18th. Called from my nursery and garden by a visit from Mr. Quincy, President of Harvard University. I asked him when it was proposed to appoint a professor of natural history. He said the fund bequeathed by Dr. Fisher had not been received—two of the Doctor's relatives being authorized by his will to retain the use of the fund for one year after his decease. I mentioned to him the desire of Dr. Waterhouse to obtain the appointment; of which, he said, he had not been informed. He was apprehensive that Dr. Waterhouse would be thought too old. I suppose him to be about seventy-six. Mr. Quincy thought Mr. Nuttall, the Curator of the Botanic Garden, must necessarily be the person chosen; but said Dr. Harris, now the librarian, had also been mentioned. Mr. Nuttall is now in Europe, and Mr. Quincy had been longer without hearing from him than he thought proper. He told me also that as President Jackson is about visiting Boston, the Corporation of the university had thought it necessary to invite him to visit the colleges; that he (Mr. Quincy) should address him in a Latin discourse, and confer upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws; and he intimated that I should receive an invitation to be present at these ceremonies.

I said that the personal relations in which President Jackson had chosen to place himself with me were such that I could hold no intercourse of a friendly character with him. I could therefore not accept an invitation to attend upon this occasion. And, independent of that, as myself an affectionate child of our Alma Mater, I would not be present to witness her disgrace in conferring her highest literary honors upon a barbarian who could not write a sentence of grammar and hardly could spell his own name. Mr. Quincy said he was sensible how utterly unworthy of literary honors Jackson was, but the Corporation thought it was necessary to follow the precedent, and treat him precisely as Mr. Monroe, his predecessor, had been treated. As the people of the United States had seen fit to make him their President, the Corporation thought the honors which they conferred upon him were compliments due to the

station, by whomsoever it was occupied. Mr. Quincy said it was thought also that the omission to show the same respect to President Jackson which had been shown to Mr. Monroe would be imputed to party spirit—which they were anxious to avoid.

I was not satisfied with these reasons; but it is college ratiocination and college sentiment. Time-serving and sycophancy are qualities of all learned and scientific institutions. More than fifty years since, the college gave this degree of Doctor of Laws to a Frenchman by the name of Valnais, about as fit for it as Andrew Jackson. Valnais was the first French Consul at Boston, and the people were so tickled with the glory of having a Consul to reside among them that Dr. Cooper prevailed upon the then Corporation to make him a Doctor of Laws. I had some good-humored discussion with Mr. Quincy upon this occurrence, but adhered to my determination to stay at home.

22d. There were copious showers in the night, which relieved the vegetation for a few days from its perishing condition, and saved me no small number of seedling trees. I found a large breach this morning in the western wall of my nursery, near the old central apple-tree. It had fallen in since last evening, and had crushed a young horse-chestnut and hickory-walnut-tree. My two men soon put up the wall again, and then by my direction took out two rocks, weighing each from three to four hundred pounds, from the bearing-ground. I had their places filled up with old manure from the garden. I planted a row of sixty garden cherry-stones on the eastern border of the patch opposite to the nursery gate, and behind them, at proper intervals, a Medford, a Downton, a nursery seedling, and a Kean seedling strawberry, marking the places where they are planted with stakes and inscribed stones. I found three new seedling trees just up, not knowing what they are. My elm-seeds have come up more freely than any others that I ever planted. I had my patch of Railway wild strawberry-plants at the entrance of the nursery gate spaded up. It was overspread and smothered by clover-grass. This experiment has failed, and shows that the transplantation of the plant of the wild strawberry does not improve its fruit.

Devoted the afternoon to writing. Received a letter from John Robb, Acting Secretary of War, with certificates of pensions for David Loud and Daniel Hayward, each for eighty dollars a year, from 4th March, 1831, and remarks upon several other applications. There was much cannonading this afternoon at the President's reviewing of the military companies in Boston. The distant report of them gave me a double relish for the solitary tranquillity of my own occupations. No period of life has ever yielded me so much quiet contentment as that which I enjoy with my family in health about me, totally uninterrupted by visitors, and cultivating, in such health as I have, my seedling plants and trees; laboring bodily from three to four hours a day upon horticultural experiments, all hitherto fruitless, but some few of them beginning to promise fruit. "Alteri Seculo" is the motto of all my plantations; but I am yet sensible and conscious that this life of pleasure is not a life of profit.

END OF VOLUME VIII.

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10 mile tour.

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